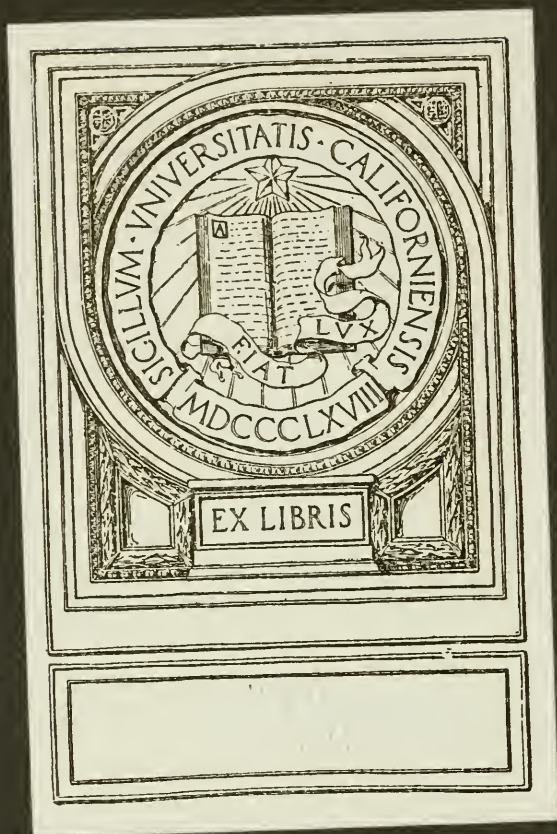


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A STUDY
OF
CONJUNCTIONAL TEMPORAL CLAUSES
IN THUKYDIDES

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

WINIFRED WARREN



BERLIN
PRINTED BY UNGER BROTHERS
1897

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

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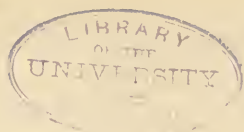
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ABSTRACT



INTRODUCTION.

By a temporal clause two actions¹⁾ are brought into temporal relation.

An action may be regarded as extensive or as aoristic²⁾.

The present stem shows an action extended, the aorist an action concentrated. Certain aorist stems appear in verbal forms of present time; but, though the possibility of the representation of present action under the aoristic conception is not to be denied, it is doubtful how far aoristic force was felt in these present forms derived from aorist stems. Further, morphological connection between the aorist and the future, and the coexistence of future forms from the aorist stem and from the present stem, point to a distinction of aspect in the field of the future. The question of aspect in the perfect stem will be considered later.

The temporal relation of one action to another may be that of antecedence, or of contemporaneity, or of subsequence.

The relations of antecedence and contemporaneity, and of subsequence and contemporaneity may be combined in over-

1) Action is here used broadly of that which is affirmed, though predication covers not only activity in a strict sense, but also state.

2) The original force of the aorist is still a matter of controversy, and the terminology of the question is not fixed. The word *positive* is so close a counterpart of the word *extensive*, since the two stand in the geometrical relation of point and line, and since *positive* answers to the function whereby the aorist simply *posits* an action, that it is to be regretted that other uses have impaired the availability of the term. In the present paper the word aoristic will be employed to denote this affirming value, graphically represented by a point. — For a historical sketch of the distinction of aspect in action (*Aktionsart*), see Herbig *Aktionsart und Zeitstufe*, I. F. VI (1896) p. 171 *sqq.*, and the literature there cited.

lapping actions. For if one of two actions brought into mutual relation is prior to the other and is viewed as extensive, it is evident that there is a possibility of partial coincidence. In the sentence, Thuk. I 13 5¹): ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον ἐπύρζον, τὰς ναῦς κτησάμενοι τὸ λησιτικὸν καθήρουν, the action of the subordinate verb is still continuing when the main action takes place. (But compare the aorist ἤρξαντο in I 5 1: οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες . . . ἐπειδὴ ἤρξαντο μᾶλλον περαινοῦσθαι ναυὸν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, ἐτόρποντο πρὸς λησιείαν.) So in the sentence VIII 45 1: ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον, πρὶν ἐς τὴν Πόδον αὐτοὺς ἀναστῆναι, ταδε ἐπράσσετο, the principal action is not ended at the time of the subordinate action. Since in the relation of antecedence the prior action is that of the dependent clause, it is to be concluded that for the unambiguous expression of pure antecedence, the action of the dependent clause must be regarded as aoristic. Similarly, for the expression of the idea of subsequence exclusively, an aoristic view of the main action is to be expected.

Yet Hultsch²⁾ in the treatment of the aorist finds no ground of differentiation between subordinate clauses and main clauses. He says: "So oft im Vorhergehenden vom Aorist die Rede war, hat sich nirgends ein Anlass gefunden den Gebrauch in Nebensätzen von dem in Hauptsätzen zu unterscheiden, und in der That ist kein Grund denkbar, weshalb der Schriftsteller die Form des abschliessenden Berichtes in Relativsätzen, nach temporalen und anderen Conjunctionen anders hätte verwenden sollen als in Hauptsätzen." Clearly, the possibility that an action represented as extensive in a temporal clause of antecedence may be antecedent in part only, makes the aoristic conception necessary if there is to be unequivocal expression of pure priority. Hultsch says further: "Auch in Nebensätzen, die durch ἐπεὶ eingeleitet werden, ist die durch den Aorist gegebene abgeschlossene

1) Citations from Thukydides are made according to the chapters and sections of Poppe-Stahl, books I–II, 3d edition, books III–VIII, 2d edition.

2) *Die erzählenden Zeitformen bei Polybios. Abhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesellschaft. d. Wissensch., phil.-hist. Classe XIII (1893) p. 454.*

Handlung zumeist auch der des Hauptsatzes vorangegangen."¹⁾ But if *ἐπεὶ* is a conjunction of antecedence, aoristic expression of the subordinate action necessitates the relation of complete priority.

Sturm²⁾, after his study of *πρὶν*, formulates a general rule in which he says: "Der Infinitiv steht in überwiegender Anzahl nach affirmativem Vordersatze, um das Praedicat desselben zeitlich näher zu bestimmen; Tempus und Modus des letzteren bleiben vollständig unberücksichtigt." But theoretically, it is evident that if the prior action is regarded as extensive, there is nothing to prevent its overlapping upon the later action; and examination of the passages cited by Sturm bears out the view that when *πρὶν* with the infinitive denotes pure subsequence, forms from the aorist stem rather than from the present are to be expected in the main clause³⁾.

In the case of contemporaneity, two relations are possible, coincidence and insertion.

In the relation of coincidence, both actions must be regarded either as extensive or as aoristic, but there is opportunity for choice between the two modes of conception. The following sentences may serve to illustrate.

Hom. ζ 325-6: *νῦν δὴ πέρ μεν ἄκουσον, ἐπεὶ πάρος οὔ ποτ' ἀκούσας*

ζαιομένου, ὅτε μ' ἔρρασε κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος.

Hom. A 671-2: *ὥς ὁπότ' Ἥλείοισι καὶ ἡμῖν νεῖκος ἐτύχθη ἀμφὶ βοηλασίῃ, ὅτ' ἐγὼ κτάνον Ἰνυμονῆα.*

In the former example, the actions of *ζαιομένου* and *ἔρρασε* are coincident, and the aspect is extensive; in the latter, the

1) Cf. Miller *A. J. P.* XVI (1895) p. 179.

2) *Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Constructionen mit ΠΡΙΝ.* Schanz's *Beiträge.* Heft 3. 1882. p. 150.

3) The few exceptions admit of explanation; as, for example, Arist. *Ran.* 885: *εἴχεσθε δὴ καὶ σφώ τι, πρὶν ἅπτη λέγειν.* Here there is a notion of distributive action, for Aischylos and Euripides are called upon to pray in turn. But not infrequently when *πρὶν* with the infinitive depends upon a verb of the present stem, the idea is that of overlapping action (it may be, with the conception of limit). Thus, Plat. *Soph.* 217 B: *καὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τύχην γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, λόγων ἐπέλαβον παραπλησίων ὧν καὶ πρὶν ἡμᾶς δεῦρ' ἔλθεῖν διερωτῶντες αὐτὸν ἐτυγχάνομεν.* Hdt. VI 119: *βασιλεὺς δὲ Δαρεῖος,*

actions of *ἐτύχθη* and *πάνον* are coincident, and the aspect is aoristic. In the relation of insertion, one action must be viewed as extensive, the other may be viewed as extensive or as aoristic.

Hom. β 171-3: καὶ γὰρ κείνῳ φημὶ τελευτηθῆναι ἅπαντα
ὥς οἱ ἐμυθεόμην, ὅτε Ἴλιον εἰσανέβαινον
Ἄργεῖοι.

Hom. II 597-8: τὸν μὲν ἄρα Ἰλαῦκος στήθος μέσον οὔτασε δουρί,
στρεφθεὶς ἐξαπώγης, ὅτε μιν κατέμαρπτε διώκων.

Four forms are thus possible:

- Coincidence — (1) extensive aspect,
(2) aoristic aspect,
Insertion — (3) extensive aspect within extensive aspect,
(4) aoristic aspect within extensive aspect.

It follows that, as regards aspect, the forms of the conception of two actions in temporal relation are these:

	Main verb	Subordinate verb
Antecedent action	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{extensive} \\ \text{aoristic} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{extensive}]^1 \\ \text{aoristic} \end{array} \right\}$
Overlapping antecedent action	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{extensive} \\ \text{aoristic} \end{array} \right\}$	extensive
Contemporaneous action		
Coincidence		
Extensive aspect	extensive	extensive
Aoristic aspect	aoristic	aoristic
Insertion		
Extensive aspect within		
extensive aspect	extensive	extensive
Aoristic aspect within		
extensive aspect	aoristic	extensive
	extensive	aoristic

πρὶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἑρπειρέας, ἐνέιχε σφι δεινὸν χόλον, οἷα
ἀρξάντων ἀδικίης προτέρων τῶν Ἑρπειρέων ἐπέιτε δὲ εἶδε σφας ἀπαχθέντας
παρ' ἑωνιῶν καὶ ἑωνιῶν ὑποχειρίους ἐόντας, ἐποίησε κακὸν ἄλλο οὐδέν.

1) Cf. p. 24.

	Main verb	Subordinate verb
Overlapping subsequent action	extensive	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{extensive} \\ \text{aoristic} \end{array} \right\}$
Subsequent action	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{extensive}]^1 \\ \text{aoristic} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{extensive} \\ \text{aoristic} \end{array} \right\}$

The temporal relation of two actions may be that of delimitation of one by the other. The one action may be coextensive with the other and mark its limits; the sentence is then an expression of the relation of coincidence. For example,

Hom. μ 327-8: οἱ δ' εἰὼς μὲν σῆτον ἔχον καὶ οἶνον ἐρυνθρόν,
τόφρα βοῶν ἀπέχοντο λιλαιόμενοι βιότοιο.

Or one action may define the bounds within which the other action falls; this is an expression of insertion. Thus, in the passage,

Hom. Σ 15-6: εἶος δ' ταῦθ' ὄρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,
τόφρα οἱ ἐγγύθεν ἦλθεν ἀγανοῦ Νέστορος υἱός,

the leading action is represented as occurring within the course of the subordinate action. Or one action may define the limit of the progress of the other. In this case the action to be defined, viewed as extensive, must in part precede the defining action. If the defining action forms the limit, it is viewed as aoristic; if it embraces the limit, it is viewed as extensive. The following sentences exemplify the two forms.

Hom. ϵ 428-9: ἀμφοτέρῃσι δὲ χερσὶν ἐπεσσύμενος λάβε πέτρης,
τῆς ἔχετο στενάχων, εἰὼς μέγα κῦμα παρήλθε.

Soph. *Ant.* 415-7: χρόνον τὰδ' ἦν τοσοῦτον, ἐς τ' ἐν αὐθέρῃ
μέσῳ κατέστη λαμπρὸς ἡλίου κύκλος
καὶ καὶ μ' ἔθαλπε.

This relation of partial coincidence of a defining action with a prior action that it defines is found only in combined subsequence and contemporaneity. Hence it is to this field that the expression of limit in one direction belongs²).

1) Cf. p. 36.

2) H. Lattmann (*Gebrauch der Tempora im Lateinischen*. Göttingen 1890. p. 90), classing these clauses of limit under contemporaneity, says:



In the application of the general principles that govern the use of stems in connection with temporal clauses, certain influences are to be taken into account. The system of Greek verbal forms is far from perfect, and a full set of stems is not made from every root. Again, some verbs by virtue of their meaning have a tendency in one direction or the other¹). Further, negation combined with the two modes of conception has a distinct force with each. A negation with the aoristic conception denies the action simply and sharply. The denial of an action in its extent points toward lack of power or will²). Hence it is evident that in temporal correlation of actions in a negative sentence the aoristic view may replace the extensive view of the affirmative; but the extensive can never be substituted for the aoristic.

The temporal relation that exists between an independent verb and the verb of a temporal clause is denoted by a conjunction³). This statement, assuming distinct lines of demarcation, is subject to certain limitations. It is possible with broad stroke to synchronize actions that a finer touch would distinguish as in sequent relation, and hence there arises a loose employment of conjunctions of contemporaneity.

“Sätze mit *donec*, *quoad* auch *dum* enthalten aber auch Handlungen, mit deren Eintritt die Handlung des Hauptsatzes ihr Ende erreicht. Im Deutschen leiten wir solche Sätze mit ‘so lange bis, bis dahin dass’ ein. Hier die Beziehung der Nachzeitigkeit auszudrücken, entspräche nicht dem natürlichen Verhältnisse. Denn dies würde den Sinn haben: nach Abschluss der Handlung des Hauptsatzes trat die des Nebensatzes ein. Im Deutschen sind wir vielmehr geneigt, die Handlung des Nebensatzes als vorzeitig aufzufassen, z. B.: ‘Es regnete bis ich nach Hause zurückgekehrt war’, d. h. erst nach der Rückkehr hörte der Regen auf.” The example given is simply a case in which the limit falls within an action of which the beginning is antecedent to a part of the limited action.

1) Cf. Hulstsch *op. cit.* pp. 26, 69 *et al.* Koch *Neue Jahrbücher* II (1892) p. 439 *sq.*

2) Cf. Gildersleeve *A. J. P.* II (1881) p. 466 *sq.*

3) A full consideration of participles as expressing temporal relation cannot be attempted here, and the discussion is therefore restricted to “conjunctive temporal clauses”. Only now and then reference is made to participial construction.

Further, certain conjunctions of limit may be used either of contemporaneous action or of subsequent action overlapping. With action of the latter kind, again, conjunctions of subsequence may under certain circumstances be used to express limit.

Temporal clauses fall into the two classes — prior and posterior¹⁾ It is clear that clauses of antecedence and of combined antecedence and contemporaneity are prior, while those that denote either combined subsequence and contemporaneity or subsequence are posterior. As regards clauses of contemporaneity, examination shows that when the two actions stand in the relation of coincidence, the clause is prior²⁾; when the relation is that of insertion, the clause is prior if the main action is inserted, posterior if the action of the subordinate member of the sentence is inserted³⁾. In accordance with their nature, prior temporal clauses normally precede the main clause, posterior follow.

There are three spheres of time, the past, the present, and the future. Sphere is, so far as the indicative mood is concerned, usually shown by tense; but apart from a few special usages (as, for example, the historical present), the distinction of imperfect, aorist, and pluperfect, of present and perfect, of future and future perfect, is not such as to affect the question of sphere. Desire to represent action in its relation to the present leads occasionally to a free combination of spheres. For example, an action in the past sphere may be temporally defined by reference to an action antecedent to it, and yet this antecedent action, viewed as extensive and as holding true for the present, be represented by a form of present time

The origin and significance of the moods is a vexed

1) For the distinction of prior and posterior clauses see Delbrück *Synt. Forsch.* I. Halle 1871. p. 35.

2) Cf. Delbrück *op. cit.* p. 67 *sqq.*

3) The posterior clause of contemporaneity seems to be the real basis of the so-called inverse construction. The sense of inversion arises from the fact that an action regarded as extensive cannot properly be temporally delimited by an action regarded as aoristic.

question, and its discussion is beyond the scope of the present paper. One or two matters, however, appropriate to the consideration of temporal clauses, may be noticed.

When the repetition of two actions in temporal relation is to be affirmed, the form of predication, if there is to be no ambiguity, must distinguish between the correlation of two iterative series as wholes and the correlation of individual acts repeated in like temporal relation. Distribution, in the latter case, may be effected through words other than the verb, that is, through an indefinite relative conjunction, a distributive pronoun, and the like. The indicative mood may then be used in the temporal clause. Generally, however, the subordinate verb appears in the subjunctive or the optative, according to the sphere of time¹). The ground of this seems to lie in the function of these moods whereby they denote ideality. A single occurrence of one action is predicated as ideal, to serve, in proper relation, for each occurrence of the other action.

It has for some time been recognized that the future indicative has modal force. The future indicative in temporal clauses is rare; for, as has been pointed out²), greater exactness is gained by the use of forms that reveal the mode of conception of the action (as extensive or aoristic), and in future forms this distinction is not wholly clear.

1) It is not necessary, with Flagg (*Outline of the Temporal and Modal Principles of Attic Prose*. Univ. of California 1893. pp. ix, 75), to make a distinct class of clauses introduced by words meaning 'until'. Such a clause with subjunctive or optative frequently, it is true, implies finality, but not universally. Without limitation by means of other words to effect the distribution, the Greeks were not at liberty to use the indicative in such designation of general action.

2) Gildersleeve (*Trans. A. P. A.* 1876 p. 9) applies to temporal clauses the same reasoning that he employs in regard to conditions: "In future relations, $\epsilon\iota$ with the future indicative may be dissected into $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ with the present subjunctive and $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ with the aorist subjunctive; and hence, whenever it is important to distinguish continued from concentrated action, whenever it is important to distinguish overlapping from priority, $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ with the subjunctive is preferred, not only in general sentences but in particular sentences." (See, further, Clapp *Trans. A. P. A.* XXII (1891) p. 86 sqq. Gildersleeve *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars* XI (June 1892) p. 102 sqq. *A. J. P.* XIII (1892) p. 502.)

From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that a study of conjunctional temporal clauses must be based upon a consideration of moods, tenses, stem-systems, conjunctions, and the relative position of main and subordinate clauses. Accordingly, the conjunctional temporal clauses of Thukydides will be considered under these heads.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. MOOD.

A. Past and present spheres.

In the past and present spheres, *particular action in accord with fact* is regularly expressed by the indicative in both clauses.

The indicative of the main clause is not infrequently represented by infinitive or participle. The place of the independent verb is taken by a verbal noun in VIII 87 4: *ἐμοὶ μέντοι δοκεῖ σαφέστατον εἶναι διατριβῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνοκωχῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὸ ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἀγαγεῖν, φθορᾶς μὲν, ἐν ὅσῳ παρῴει ἐκεῖσε καὶ διέμελλεν, ἀνισώσεως δέ, ὥπως μηδετέρους προσοδόμενος ἰσχυροτέρους ποιήσῃ*. Here *φθορᾶς* involves a verb expressing action that is coextensive with that of *παρῴει* and *διέμελλεν*. Occasionally there is ellipsis of the independent verb. This is regular in the case of comparisons where a temporal clause is employed. The occurrences are as follows: *ὅτε* (with *ὥσπερ*) IV 34 1. V 16 3. 41 2; (with *ἢ*) VI 31 1; *ὅταν* (with *ἢ*) III 56 7; *πρὶν* (with *ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καί*) VI 11 1. An interesting structure is that in which a temporal clause is used with an expression of the lapse of time or with an ordinal; for example, I 18 1: *ἔτη γὰρ ἔστι μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλείω ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου, ἃφ' οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται*, and III 68 5: *καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πλάταιαν ἔτι τούτῳ καὶ ἐνετηχοστώ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν*. There is a similar construction of a *πρὶν* clause in III 64 3: *τὴν τελευταίαν τε πρὶν περιτειχίζεσθαι πρόκλῃσιν*. The force of *πρὶν* here is not far

from prepositional, as may be seen by comparison with I 14 2: ταῦτα γὰρ τελευταῖα πρὸς τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας ναυτικά ἀξιόλογα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατέστη. Another noteworthy usage is that by which the temporal clause does not define the time of the main action, but gives the content of an act of memory. Thukydides has two examples. II 21 1: μεμνημένοι καὶ Πλειστοδάρακτα τὸν Πανσανίον Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα, ὅτε ἐσβαλὼν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσίνα . . . ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν. Prolepsis of the subject of the subordinate clause with this construction is striking. II 54 4: μνήμη δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων χρησθησίου τοῖς εἰδόσιν, ὅτε ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν εἰ χροὴ πολεμεῖν ἀνείλε κατὰ χρότος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι. Here the clause introduced by ὅτε is practically an explanatory appositive of τοῦ χρησθησίου. Compare, further, III 59 2.

As regards the form of the verb in the subordinate clause, there are certain limitations imposed by the apparatus of the language, notably in connection with the conjunction *πρόν*. In the expression of simple subsequence *πρόν* governs the infinitive. So the infinitive follows *πρότερον* ἢ, and once in Thukydides (VI 4 2), on the same principle, *ἕστερον* ἢ. It is noteworthy that this clause with *ἕστερον* ἢ immediately follows *πρόν* with an infinitive. In the circumstances now under consideration, there is but one other instance of a temporal clause that does not offer the indicative. In the case of this exception, the verb upon which the temporal clause depends is an infinitive, and the subordinate verb, even though it precedes, is assimilated, II 102 5: λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμέωνι τῷ Ἀμφιάρεω, ὅτε διῆ ἀλᾶσθαι αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν φόρον τῆς μητροῦς, τὸν Ἀπόλλω ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσθαι οἰκεῖν. Although among temporal clauses this stands without a parallel, there are several instances of the infinitive in clauses introduced by other relative forms¹⁾.

Ἔσιν ὅτε in Thukydides is probably completely crystallized as an adverb. In three (I 25 4. V 102. VII 21 3) of the eight occurrences, it is impossible to refer any finite verb

1) See commentators on I 91 5.

to *ὅτε*, and the formula must be an adverbial modifier of a participle. In three other passages (III 43 5¹). 45 6²). VI 38 3) the order of words militates against the consideration of *ἔστιν ὅτε* otherwise than as phraseological. In II 81 3: *διεῖχον δὲ πολὺν ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐδὲ ἑωρώντο*, although a finite verb follows the expression immediately, it seems impossible to accept such an explanation as Hofmann's: "Et hic et in similibus locis non facile est ad dijudicandum, utrum *ἔστιν ὅτε* prorsus particulae vim habeat necne. Videtur autem hic usus praesentis *ἔστι* sequente praeterito inde ortus esse, quod qui rem factam narrat, tanquam praesentem eam menti suae proponere potest, *ἔστι* verbo utens, tum vero verbum, quo res ipsa declaratur, quia praeterita est, praeterito tempore eloquitur." The only remaining passage is II 39 1: *τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν παρέχομεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ξενιτσίας ἀπείργομέν τινα ἢ μαθήματος ἢ θεάματος*. This shows nothing to compel the interpretation of *ἔστιν ὅτε* as an adverb; but in view of the balanced structure of the speech, it is hardly to be doubted that *τε* and *καὶ* are intended to correlate *παρέχομεν* and *ἀπείργομεν*. *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε* is equivalent to *οὐδέποτε*.

Iterative or generic action in the leading clause Thukydides regularly expresses by the indicative, in the temporal clause by the subjunctive for the present sphere, the optative for the past. Two passages claim attention.

II 35 2: *χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρώως εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα καὶ ἡ*

1) Krüger makes *ἔστιν ὅτε* modify *ζημοῦντε*, Classen the whole sentence. But it is better to join it with the participle expressing the condition upon which the general statement of the apodosis, *ζημοῦντε*, depends. So Hofmann (*De verborum Graec. quae in formulas abierunt usu et natura*, Berlin 1860. p. 55.) Possibly Krüger's suggestion of *ἔστιν ὅτε* is to be accepted, along with the emendation of Abresch for the reading of the manuscripts in II 94 3.

2) Hofmann holds that if a finite verb, whether past or present, follows, *ἔστιν ὅτε* is not to be regarded as phraseological. The passages on which he bases this conclusion do not bear inspection. Thus, in Hdt. II 120 the correlation by *μέν* and *δέ* and the position of *αὐτοῦ Προϊάμουν* render the adverbial sense necessary; as in Thuk. I 65 3 the construction with *πολίεμα*, and II 13 7 the trajection of *καὶ* show that the combination of the substantive verb with the relative has nominal force; and III 24 2 is poor proof.

δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιούται· ὃ τε γὰρ ξυνειδώς καὶ εὖρους ἀκροατῆς τάχ' ἂν τι ἐνδεεστέως πρὸς ἃ βούλεται τε καὶ ἐπίσταται νομίσειε δηλοῦσθαι, ὃ τε ἄπειρος ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι, διὰ φθόρον, εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι. Here ἐν ᾧ is regarded either as local-temporal, 'under circumstances in which'¹⁾, or as meaning ἐν ᾧ μετρίως εἰπεῖν²⁾. If ἐν ᾧ is circumstantial, the explanatory sentence beginning ὃ τε γὰρ should give the ground of the apodosis, whereas this sentence evidently explains the ἐν ᾧ clause. Even Herbst, though he tries to fuse the two clauses in such a way as to make the causal sentence explain χαλεπὸν, says, when off his guard, that "die rede keine überzeugung hervorbringt, weil die einzelnen zuhörer ihre eigene, teils günstigere teils geringere meinung von den thaten haben und behalten". It cannot be supposed that the thought of the writer was of the definite circumstances under which the orator was speaking, for some definite limitation would be necessary, as in VII 51 1: ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ὡς τάχιστα καὶ ἐν ᾧ σφίσι ξυμφέροι ἀναγκάσαι αὐτοὺς ναυμαχεῖν. The relative, then, may be referred to τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν, and the passage excluded from a collection of temporal clauses.

V 103 1: τοῖς δ' ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναοριπτοῦσι (δάπανος γὰρ φύσει) ἅμα τε γιγνώσκειται σφαλόντων καὶ ἐν ὅτῳ ἔτι φυλάζεται τις αὐτὴν γνωρισθεῖσαν οὐκ ἐλλείπει. Few now hold the opinion that ἐν ὅτῳ here means 'while'³⁾. Scholefield translates: "neque destituit, quamdiu ab ea cognita cavere poterit aliquis". But if ἐν ὅτῳ is equivalent to *quamdiu*, since the speaker has just said that the nature of hope is not known until failure comes, γνωρισθεῖσαν must be an unfulfilled protasis of which φυλάζεται is the apodosis, and this is clearly impossible. ἐλλείπει is to be regarded as transitive, governing the antecedent of ὅτῳ.

1) Krahner *Philol.* X (1855) p. 441, Krüger, Herbst *Philol.* XXIV (1866) p. 713, Classen, Kraz *Die drei Reden des Perikles bei Thuk.* Nördlingen 1880, Stahl, Steup, Marchant (though he translates otherwise), *et al.*

2) Poppo, Boehme-Widmann.

3) So Scholefield, Poppo, Jowett (with an alternative translation). See also Graves.



A generic temporal clause cannot be subordinate to a main verb of definite action. There is no temporal correlation in such a sentence as I 41 3: *ἐν καιροῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐγένετο οἷς μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἰόντες τῶν πάντων ἀπεροίπτοί εἰσι παρὰ τὸ καῶν*, and the dependent clause is not to be classed as temporal in passages like VII 47 2: *τῆς τε ὥρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ οὔσης ἐν ἣ ἀσθενοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα*. But in III 56 5: *δίκαιον ἡμῶν τῆς νῦν ἁμαρτίας, εἰ ἄρα ἡμάρτηται, ἀντιθεῖναι τὴν τότε προθυμίαν, καὶ μεῖζω τε πρὸς ἐλπίσω εὐροῖσθε καὶ ἐν καιροῖς οἷς σπάνιον ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰ ἀρετὴν τῇ Ξέρξῳ δυνάμει ἀντιτάξασθαι*, the subordinate action is not generic, but particular.

Of *action contrary to fact* in connection with temporal clauses there are two instances. One occurs in a chapter probably spurious, III 84 2: *οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ τε δόσιον τὸ τιμωρεῖσθαι προντίθεσαν τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸ κερδαίνειν, ἐν ᾧ μὴ βλῆπτοσαν ἰσχὴν εἶχε τὸ φθορεῖν*. The relative clause with its verb in a past tense of the indicative contains the unfulfilled condition. In the other passage, the action of the verb of the temporal clause is not itself contrary to fact. The verb is an infinitive introduced by *πρὶν*. VII 28 3: *ἐς φιλονικίαν καθέστιασαν τοιαύτην ἢν¹⁾ πρὶν γενέσθαι ἡπίσθησεν ἂν τις ἀκούσας*.

B. Future sphere.

In the future sphere, the main verb assumes, according to thought and context, any of the forms used of future time, namely, future indicative (*e. g.*, II 72 3), subjunctive (I 91 3), optative (IV 111 1), imperative (V 47 7), or substitutes for these.

The subordinate verb, unless it is under the influence of a past indicative, is regularly subjunctive. The future indicative is found but twice. I 39 3: *οὗς χορῆν, ὅτε ἀσφαλέσταιοι ἦσαν, τότε προσιέναι, καὶ μὴ ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἡδικοῦμεθα, οὗτοι δὲ κινδυνεύουσι, μηδ' ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς τῆς τε δυνάμεως αὐτῶν τότε οὐ μεταλαμβάνετε τῆς ὀφελείας νῦν μεταδώσετε, καὶ τῶν*

1) On the subordination through the relative compare Sturm *op. cit.* p. 115.

ἀμαρτημάτων ἀπογενόμενοι τῆς ἀφ' ἡμῶν αἰτίας τὸ ἴσον ἔξετε. VI 86 5: ἦν εἰ τῷ ὑπόπτῳ ἢ ἄπρακτον εἴσατε ἀπελθεῖν ἢ καὶ σφαλεῖσαν, ἔτι βουλήσεσθε καὶ πολλοστὸν μόριον αὐτῆς ἰδεῖν, ὅτε οὐδὲν ἔτι περᾶν παραγενόμενον ὑμῖν. In the former passage, μεταδώσετε is clearly modal, and νῦν hints the present sphere. In the latter, the future in the temporal clause is the apodosis of the conditional participle παραγενόμενον, equivalent to εἰαν παραγένηται. There is no instance of the future indicative in a clause of antecedence or subsequence, a position in which distinction of stems is of greater moment than in clauses of contemporaneity. Once (III 39 8) the present indicative δεῖ is used with future force; and in VIII 109 2, πληροῦται is a virtual future, but it is quite improbable that this passage is from the hand of Thukydides. Even when the governing verb is a past indicative or is under the influence of a past indicative, Thukydides, following his inclination to give *repraesentatio* wide range, generally uses the subjunctive in the subordinate clause. The optative appears in the following cases: —

a) The temporal clause depends upon an optative in a final clause (four times: ἐπειδὴ — VII 80 5; ὁπότε — IV 111 1. VI 97 5; πρὶν — III 22 8).

b) The temporal clause depends upon a subjunctive in a final clause, which, in turn, depends upon a secondary tense of the indicative (once: ὁπότε — I 91 3; the optative follows the indicative and precedes the subjunctive).

c) The temporal clause depends, directly or indirectly, upon an infinitive with ἄν (three times: ἔως — III 95 1; ὁπότε — VII 48 1; πρὶν — IV 117 1).

d) The temporal clause depends upon a past future expressed by ἔμελλον with the infinitive (three times: ὁπότε — III 22 3. IV 77 1. VI 66 1).

e) The temporal clause depends upon an indicative (actual or virtual) of past time, but expressing action so directed toward the future that there is partial obliquity (twice: ἔως — III 102 7. V 35 4).

A single example of the aorist indicative in a clause of

the future sphere is found. V 18 5: ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐξέστω ἐπιφέρειν Ἀθηναίους μηδὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ κακῷ, ἀποδιδόντων τὸν φόρον, ἐπειδὴ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο. The treaty is written in consistent regard of the sphere as future with the exception of the expressions ὅσας δὲ πόλεις παρέδοσαν and ἐπειδὴ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο. In defense of these, editors can but refer from one to the other, for Stahl's citation of VI 10 5 is irrelevant. Yet it is generally acknowledged that the sentence opening with ὅσας δὲ πόλεις bears evidence of corruption, and a change of reading or a lacuna before these words is accepted. The temporal clause is referred by Bétant, Jowett, and Classen to ἐπιφέρειν, but by Stahl, Steup¹⁾, and others, with varying interpretations, to ἀποδιδόντων. Steup argues that if there had been no express statement of the time at which the payment of tribute should begin, it would have been possible for the Athenians to claim arrears. But though ἐπειδὴ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο might be a comment on ἀποδιδόντων, it would be natural to take for granted that all provisions of the treaty should go into effect at the same time, and to make no specification on this one point. Surely the passage is not certain enough to compel the acceptance of the unique aorist indicative of antecedent action in the future sphere.

Use of ἄν.

The modal particle ἄν in temporal clauses Thukydides uses for the most part in accordance with the principles of standard Attic prose. Certain exceptions, however, appear in the manuscripts, and the question arises whether these are genuine cases of omission or are to be attributed to the carelessness of scribes. The instances are as follows: — With μέχρῃ — I 137 2: μηδένα ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τῆς νεὸς μέχρῃ πλοῦς γένηται. With μέχρῃ οὐ — III 28 2: Πάγης δ' ἀναστήσας αὐτοὺς ὥστε μὴ ἀδικῆσαι, κατατίθεται ἐς Τένεδον μέχρῃ οὐ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τι δόξη. IV 16 2: ἐσπεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰς μέχρῃ οὐ ἐπανέλθωσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς βίβας. 41 1: ἐβούλευσαν δεσμοῖς μὲν αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν μέχρῃ οὐ τι

1) *Thukydideische Studien*. Freiburg i. B. 1881. I p. 37.

ξυμβῶσιν. 46 3: καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν νῆσον οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν Πτυχίαν ἐς φυλακὴν διεκόμισαν ὑποσπόνδους, μέχρι οὗ Ἀθήναζε πεμφθῶσιν. With οὗ — IV 17 2: ἐπιχώριον ὃν ἡμῖν οὗ μὲν βραχεῖς ἀρκῶσι μὴ πολλοῖς χρῆσθαι, πλείοσι δὲ ἐν ᾧ ἂν καιρὸς ἦ διδάσκοντάς τι τῶν προύργου λόγοις τὸ δέον προάσσειν. With πρὶν — VI 10 5: χρόν... μὴ... ἀρχῆς ἄλλης ὀρέγεσθαι πρὶν ἢν ἔχομεν βεβαιωσώμεθα. 29 2: καὶ ὅτι σωφρονέστερον εἴη μὴ μετὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, πρὶν διαγινῶσι, πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτω στρατεύματι. 38 2: ἡμεῖς δὲ κακοί, πρὶν ἐν τῷ παθεῖν ὦμεν, προφνύλασθαι. VIII 9 1: οὐ προθυμῆθησαν ξυμπλεῖν, πρὶν τὰ Ἰσθμια, ἃ τότε ἦν, διεορτιάσωσιν. 3: τό τε πληθὸς οὐ βουλόμενοί πω πολέμιον ἔχειν, πρὶν τι καὶ ἰσχυρὸν λάβωσι. With πρότερον ἢ — VII 63 1: μὴ πρότερον ἀξιοῦν ἀπολέεσθαι ἢ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πολεμίου καταστρώματος ὀπίστας ἀπαράξῃτε.

The absence of ἄν with πρὶν is discussed by Sturm¹⁾, who ascribes the failure of the particle to the negligence of the copyist, and points out that palaeographically the errors are not improbable. But it is better to look at the matter as a whole and in its historical relations. A few conditional and relative clauses that show the subjunctive without ἄν take their place beside the temporal clauses²⁾. Stahl³⁾ defends the omission of ἄν in Thucydides on the ground of its omission in the tragedians and of the affinity of the historian's style with theirs. Diener⁴⁾, after a comparative study of prose, accepts the omission. The evidence thus brought together is weighty. Certainly, unless there is stronger argument for ἄν than has yet been put forward, the ratio⁵⁾ between the

1) *Op. cit.* p. 94 sq.

2) See Lange *De coniunctivi et optativi usu Thucydideo*. Cassel 1886. p. 17 sqq. Dessoulavy *De la particule ἄν dans Thucydide*. Neuchâtel 1895. p. 22 sqq. Dessoulavy accepts without argument the omission of ἄν in relative and temporal clauses in Thucydides. He says: "Quoi qu'il en soit, la question ne nous paraît pas absolument résolue pour les propositions conditionnelles, comme elle l'est pour les propositions relatives et temporelles, où l'omission de ἄν, plus fréquente, est hors de doute."

3) *Quaestiones grammaticae*. Lipsiae 1886. p. 26 sq.

4) *De sermone Thuc. quatenus cum Herod. congruens differat a scriptoribus Atticis*. Lipsiae 1889. p. 67 sqq.

5) With ἄν — μέχρι 1, μέχρι οὗ 1, οὗ 1, πρὶν 6; without ἄν — μέχρι 1, μέχρι οὗ 4, οὗ 1, πρὶν 5.

number of times that the particle occurs in temporal clauses in Thukydides and the number of times that it is missing is not such as to demand the insertion of the word against the manuscript tradition.

§ 2. TENSE.

This division will deal with tense only as indicating the sphere of time. Normal usage needs no remark.

The historical present is a matter for separate treatment, and it must suffice here to state the usage of Thukydides in connection with temporal clauses¹).

In the main clause, the conditions under which the historical present appears do not differ from those under which it occurs in sentences of other sort. It is by no means infrequent, appears alone or coordinate with imperfect or aorist, and is found whether the temporal clause denotes antecedent, contemporaneous, subsequent, or overlapping action. The following passages show the historical present in the principal clause²): *ἐπεὶ* — VII 26 1. *ἐπειδὴ* — I 24 6. 46 3. 58 1. II 70 1. 81 5. 82. 83 3. 101 1; 5. III 20 1. 34 3. IV 113 2. V 17 2. 43 3. 72 3. VI 101 3. VII 32 1. 43 3. 82 1. VIII 80 1. 94 1. *ὅτε* — VI 4 2. *ὥς* — I 61 1; 3. 65 1. 126 10. II 79 5. 84 3. III 7 5. 8. 27 1. 69 1. 108 1. 112 5. IV 25 9. 70 1. 73 4 75 1. 89 1. 93 2. 110 1; 2. 116 1. 128 3. V 6 1. 8 1. 10 5. 36 1. VI 60 2. VII 73 3 83 2. 84 3. VIII 17 1. 28 2. 38 4. 51 1. 60 3. 74 3. *ἥνιστα* — VII 73 3. *ὅτε* — VI 74 1. *μέχρι οὗ* — III 28 2. *πρὶν* — II 12 2. 67 3. 82. III 29 1. VI 4 2. 97 2.

In the subordinate clause the examples of the historical present are few. It occurs with *ὥς* when the main verb is

1) For Thukydides the historical present has been discussed by Rode-meyer (*Das Praesens historicum bei Herodot und Thukydides*. Basel 1889), on the basis of a theory of his own.

2) In a few instances the historical present occurs two or more times, in others it is followed by the imperfect or the aorist. Rarely an aorist participle intervenes between the subordinate clause and the main verb. It has seemed unnecessary to include a few passages in which a temporal clause depends immediately upon an imperfect or an aorist with which an historical present appears in coordination.

itself an historical present, V 10 5: *κἄν τοῦτ' Ὀδυσσεύς ὡς ὄρεῖ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὸ στρατεύμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων κινούμενον, λέγει τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ*, and VII 84 3: *ὥς δὲ γίνονται ἐπ' αὐτῶ, ἐσπίπτον οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔτι*, and when the main verb is aorist, I 63 1: *ἐπαναχωρῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως, ὡς ὄρεῖ τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα ἡσσημένον, ἠπόρησε*. It occurs with *ἕως* when the main verb is imperfect and an imperfect is coordinate with the historical present of the temporal clause, VII 81 4: *οὐ προχωρεῖ μάλλον ἢ ἐς μάχην ξυνετάσσειτο, ἕως ἐνδιατριβῶν κυκλοῦνται τε ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν πολλῷ θορύβῳ αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ [Ἀθηναῖοι] ἦσαν*, and with *πρὶν δὴ* (= *ἕως*) when the main verb is imperfect, VII 39 2: *ἐπὶ πολλὴν διήγον τῆς ἡμέρας πειρώμενοι ἀλλήλων, πρὶν δὴ Ἀρίστον . . . πείθει τοὺς σφετέρους τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἄρχοντας*, and aorist, I 132 5: *ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς . . . ἠξιώσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν, . . . πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς . . . ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος . . . μῆνυτις γίγνεται . . . καὶ . . . λύει τὰς ἐπιστολάς*. In every case the relative position of the principal and subordinate verbs is normal, that is to say, prior clauses precede the main verb, posterior clauses follow.

As regards the attitude of Thukydides toward the formal present with future force in connection with temporal clauses, two or three passages call for notice. III 39 8: *ὅν χρόνον τοῖς νῦν καθεστηκόσι δεῖ ἐχθροῖς ἀνθίστασθαι, τοῖς οἰκείοις συμμαχοῖς πολεμήσομεν*. The force of the expression *δεῖ ἀνθίστασθαι* is close to that of the future indicative as used rarely in temporal clauses. VI 77 2: *ἢ 1) μένομεν ἕως ἂν ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις ληφθῶμεν, εἰδότες ὅτι ταῦτη μόνον ἄλωτοί ἐσμεν*; Two interpretations are given for *μένομεν*. First, it is synonymous with the present subjunctive or the future indicative, but throws greater emphasis upon the thought²). Second, it is a true present, and *ἢ μένομεν* means "*an ideo coniunctis viribus iis non resistimus, quod expectamus*"³). Either view

1) The junction through *ἢ* is awkward. Should not *ἢ* be read? Cf. Hom. A 666—7: *ἢ μένει εἰς ὃ κε δὴ νῆες θοαὶ ἄγχι θαλάσσης*

Ἀργείων ἀέκητι πρὸς δηῖοιο θέρονται;

2) So, among others, Krüger, Classen, Boehme-Widmann.

3) Stahl.



must embrace not only μέρομεν but the parallel οἰόμεθα. In the thought of the passage there is nothing against the present sphere; and if μέρομεν can be regarded as a present, the fact that the license required for the former interpretation is then unnecessary, is sufficient ground for the rejection of that interpretation. It may be concluded, then, that this sentence does not offer a case of the present with future force. VIII 109 2 is doubtless spurious.

In the subordinate construction introduced by a verb of wishing that follows a secondary tense, the verb of a temporal clause may be of the past sphere, as IV 67 4: ἔθρον δορόμωρ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας, βουλόμενοι φθάσαι πρὶν ξυγκλησθῆναι πάλιν τὰς πύλας καὶ ἕως ἔτι ἡ ἄμαξα ἐν αὐταῖς ἦν. Also V 16 1. The writer looks beyond the conception as it stood in the original thought, and makes the predication according to the realization that he sees in fact.

By a free combination of spheres the representation of an action in its relation to the present may lead to certain irregularities in the form of expression. Thus, of antecedent action that overlaps upon action in the past sphere and is going on in the present, Thukydides has two examples. I 68 2: οὐ πρὶν πάσχειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἔσμεν, τοὺς ξυμμάχους τοῦσδε παρεκαλέσατε. II 8 3: ἔτι δὲ Αἰῆλος ἐκινήθη ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων, πρότερον οὐπω σεισθεῖσα ἀφ' οὗ Ἕλληνες μέμνηται. Of future action inserted in action that is represented as true for the present, there are several instances; for example, VI 17 1: ἕως ἐγὼ τε ἔτι ἀκμάζω μετ' αὐτῆς καὶ ὁ Νικίας ἐντυχλῆς δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀποχρήσασθε τῇ ἐκατέρου ἡμῶν ὀφελείᾳ. Further, with ἕως — I 78 4 (ἐστὶ omitted). III 70 6 (the principal clause has μέλλειν . . . ἀναπεῖσιν). IV 67 4 (imperfect for present). V 9 6. VI 49 1; 2. VII 47 3 (ἐστὶ omitted). VIII 40 3 (ἐστὶ omitted); with ἐν ᾧ — V 16 1 (imperfect for present). Of overlapping subsequent action that extends into the present, there is a single case. I 76 2: ἐδεξάμεθα . . . ἄξιοί τε ἅμα νομίζοντες εἶναι καὶ ὑμῶν δοκοῦντες, μέχρι οὗ τὰ ξυμφέροιντα λογιζόμενοι τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ νῦν χρῆσθε. The present χρῆσθε is reinforced by

the adverb *νῦν*. In all these passages it is the dependent verb that shows the irregularity. But in VI 77 2 (quoted above on page 21) the main verb, not the subordinate, is of the present sphere. So I 137 4: *ὅς κακὰ μὲν πλεῖστα Ἑλλήνων ἔιργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὅσον χρόνον τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπιόντα ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη ἡμυνόμεν, πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλείω ἀγαθὰ, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ πάλιν ἢ ἀποκομδὴ ἐρίγνετο.*

The substantive verb of the present sometimes appears with an expression of time when a past fact stated in the dependent clause is dated. I 13 3: *ἔτη δ' ἐστὶ μάλιστα τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου, ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίοις ἦλθεν. Οὐ πολλὸς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ* is almost phraseological, 'not long since' in I 6 3: *καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ἀβροδύαιτον οὐ πολλὸς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες.* Some difficulty is presented by another passage, I 14 3: *ὁψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπεισεν Αἰγινήταις πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἕμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι.* Classen, Stahl, and others regard *ὁψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ . . . ἔπεισεν* as arising from a fusion of two points of view. Yet it is not easy to admit this when the words that indicate the two positions are in immediate connection. Shilleto suggests that *ἐκέκτηντο* may be carried on from the preceding, but against this Stahl argues that the later sentence refers to the Athenians alone. Krüger and van Herwerden cut the knot by deletion of *ἀφ' οὗ*. The passage has hardly as yet found a satisfactory explanation.

A fact thus dated by a numerical phrase with the substantive verb of the present may itself be expressed in its relation to the present. So I 6 5: *οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπανται,* and 18 1: *ἔτη γάρ ἐστι μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλείω ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου, ἀφ' οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται.*

§ 3. STEM-SYSTEM.

It will be convenient to consider the subject under the classification of the temporal relation of the actions.

A. Antecedent action.

When the action of the subordinate clause is antecedent, completely or partially, no restriction arising from the temporal clause affects the aspect of the main action. Hence consideration of the leading verb is unnecessary here. In the dependent clause, the aoristic view is used of action purely antecedent, while the extensive view may be used either of such action, or of action overlapping upon that of the main clause and therefore at once antecedent and contemporaneous. On account of possible ambiguity, the extensive view is practically almost confined to the expression of overlapping action.

A good illustration of the imperfect used by Thukydides to represent overlapping action is found in V 72 3: *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν χειρὶν ἐγγύροντο τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τὸ μὲν Μαρτινέων δεξιὸν τρέπει αὐτῶν τοὺς Σκιρίτας καὶ τοὺς Βρασιδείους*. One would perhaps expect the aorist *ἐγένοντο* as a parallel to the aorist participle that occurs in VII 5 2: *καὶ ἐν χειρὶ γινόμενοι ἐμάχοντο*. (Compare III 108 1.) But in the progress of the narrative, it appears that the action of the imperfect *ἐγγύροντο* was not over at the time when the main action took place, V 72 4: *καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἡσσῶντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· τῷ δ' ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ μέσῳ, . . . ἔτρεψαν οὐδὲ ἐς χειρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπομείναντας, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπῆσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθὺς ἐνδόντας*.

At first sight it might seem that the distinction between the aorist stem as denoting action wholly antecedent and the present stem as denoting overlapping action could not be maintained for the many examples of verbs of perception (actual or intellectual) and thought; for these verbs appear sometimes to occur in forms from the present stem and from the aorist indifferently. This seeming indifference arises from the fact that for the most part the choice of the manner of representation is in the writer's power. Cases where there is no option test the principle, and these are clearest when the verb expresses perception by the senses. Thus, I 72 1: *τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον. . . καὶ ὥς ἦσθοντο τῶν λόγων, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς παρρητέα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι*. Further

illustration is furnished by a comparison of II 94 2-3: βοηθήσαντες δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμέρα πανδημεῖ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναῦς τε καθέλκον. . . . οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ὥς ἤσθοντο τὴν βοήθειαν, . . . κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τῆς Νισαίας ἔπλεον, with VII 18 1: παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐβολὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥσπερ τε προεδέδοκτο αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ Κορινθίων ἐραγόντων, ἐπειδὴ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, ὅπως δὴ ἐβολῆς γενομένης διακωλυθῇ.

The imperfect is rarely used when the conception of overlapping action seems excluded. II 18 3: ἐπειδὴ τε ξυνελέγετο ὁ στρατός, ἥ τε ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιμονὴ γενομένη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν ἡ σχολαιότης διέβαλεν αὐτόν. The reference in ἡ ἐπιμονή is doubtless to the incidents narrated in II 10 3-12 5 and these, it is expressly stated, occurred ἐπειδὴ πᾶν τὸ στρατεύμα ξυνελεγμένον ἦν. In V 17 2: ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῶν ξυνόδων αἷμα πολλὰς δικαιώσεις προενεγρόντων ἀλλήλοις ξυνεχωρεῖτο ὥστε ἂ ἐκάτεροι πολέμῳ ἔσχον ἀποδόντας τὴν εἰρήνην ποιῆσθαι, . . . ποιῶνται τὴν ξύμβασιν, unless the force of the impersonal *συνχωρεῖ* is attributed to the neuter passive *ξυνεχωρεῖτο*, the subordinate action is wholly antecedent to the main action. It would not be difficult, in either passage, to assume textual corruption in the subordinate verb.

Antecedence expressed as temporal may pass into causal antecedence. How close together the two conceptions lie may be seen by examination of two or three passages. II 3 1: τοὺς λόγους δεξάμενοι ἡσύχαζον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς οὐδένα οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέρειζον. VII 69 2: ὁ δὲ Νικίας ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ ὁρῶν οἷος ὁ κίνδυνος καὶ ὥς ἐγγὺς ἦδη, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἔμελλον ἀνάγεσθαι, . . . αὐτὸς τῶν τριηράρχων ἓνα ἕκαστον ἀνεκάλει. 80 1: τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ Δημοσθένει ἐδόκει, ἐπειδὴ κακῶς σφίσι τὸ στρατεύμα εἶχε τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων πάντων ἀπορία ἦδη καὶ κατατετραυματισμένοι ἦσαν πολλοὶ ἐν πολλαῖς προσβολαῖς τῶν πολεμίων γεγενημέναις, πυρὰ καύσαντας ὥς πλείεστα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιάν.

Failure to appreciate causal force in the imperfect in clauses of antecedence has brought failure to grasp the

thought of Thukydides in some passages, and has consequently led to conjectural emendation.

II 51 5: εἴτε προσίοιεν, διεφθείροντο, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι· αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ ἠγείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐσιόντες παρὰ τοὺς φίλους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογυγνομένων τελευτῶντες καὶ οἱ οἰκῆτοι ἐξέκαμνον ἐπὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι. Of the many explanations proposed for this passage, those that involve textual change¹⁾ may be disregarded here, and the others fall into three classes.

a) ἐπεὶ = whereas. This is the interpretation given by Steup in the fourth edition of Classen. He supports this signification of ἐπεὶ by two other passages in Thukydides, VI 79 2 and VII 30 2. In both these places, however, ἐπεὶ means 'for'. In VI 79 2 it gives the ground for the sentence that precedes; and in VII 30 2, the support for the previous statement, ἀποκτείνουσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐσβάσει τοὺς πλείστους. In defense of the meaning 'whereas' in the former place, Stahl cites two passages from Plato, *Prot.* 333 C and 335 C; but in both, strictly, ἐπεὶ is causal²⁾.

b) ἐπεὶ = since. Attempts to refer to words beyond αἰσχύνῃ are vain. The argument by which the causal sentence is brought into relation with the words immediately preceding is stated thus by Stahl³⁾: "Haec enuntiatio cum superiore ita cohaeret ut amici ad curam aegrotantibus adhibendam eo impulsu esse dicantur quod postremo etiam domestici ita defatigati fuerint ut ne lamentari quidem morientes sustinerent, nedum opem aegrotantibus ferre possent."

c) ἐπεὶ = after. No editor advocates this view, and the only mention of it is its summary dismissal by Steup: "Ohne Frage haben ja die ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιοῦμενοι sich um ihre erkrankten Verwandten und Freunde nicht erst gekümmert, nachdem die Zeit eingetreten war, in welcher καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρ-

1) See Torstrik *Philol.* XXXI (1872) p. 39 sqq. Steup *Rh. Mus.* XXVI (1871) p. 473 sqq.

2) Cf. Zycha *Wiener Stud.* VII (1885) p. 96 sq.

3) For other explanations, open to greater objection, see Classen *ad loc.*, and Fritzsche *Philol.* XXXII (1873) p. 147 sqq.

σεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐξέκαμνον.” This is in harmony with Steup’s opinion that there can be no causal connection; but the interpretation of ἐπεὶ as causal presupposes antecedence in time. Steup’s argument from probability has no weight. So long as the strength of kinsmen in the close relations of the household sufficed for the care of the sick and for lamentation, there was no reason why even οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι should take the place of those to whom these duties by a right almost sacred peculiarly belong.

Against each of the interpretations given above, it may be objected that there is no good ground for the imperfect ἐξέκαμνον with τελευτῶντες, ‘at last’ (compare II 47 4. VI 53 3 *et al.*)¹), and that the accusative after ἐκκάμνω is unparalleled. Is all exegesis impossible? One other explanation may be ventured. ὁλοφύροεις is the object of τελευτῶντες, which means ‘performing, fulfilling’. This obviates not only the combination of τελευτῶντες with the imperfect, but also the accusative after ἐκκάμνω, and substitutes therefor the ordinary participial construction. The imperfect with ἐπεὶ then denotes overlapping action with causal coloring, and the meaning of the passage is, ‘after they saw that merely in making the lamentations over the dying the relatives themselves were exhausted’.

A participle of a verb of perception is sometimes found in coordination with a clause of antecedence with causal coloring.

The manuscripts read in V 55 4: καὶ Ἀθηναίων αὐτοῖς χίλιοι ἐβοήθησαν ὀπλίται καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης στρατηγός· πυθόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξεστρατεῦσθαι, καὶ ὥς οὐδὲν ἔτι αὐτῶν ἔδει, ἀπῆλθον. A difficulty presents itself in that, obviously, the fact that the Lakedaimonians had undertaken an expedition could not be a reason for the departure of the Athenians. Portus’ proposal to omit δέ and unite πυθόμενοι... ἐξεστρατεῦσθαι with ἐβοήθησαν has met with favor, and Classen, Stahl, van Herwerden, and Boehme-Widmann, among others, adopt this reading. But it is against probability that a scribe

1) See also Hultsch *op. cit.* p. 446 *sqq.*

should, in the face of the *ὥς* clause introduced by *καί*, attempt to draw the participle over to this sentence. Moreover, the aid must have been sent by order of the Athenians, and Thukydides would hardly ascribe to the military body the perception that led to the expedition of the forces. Some critics have sought either in *ἐξ* - or in the perfect the sense of completion, and have interpreted, 'had ended their expedition'. For such meaning of this compound there is no support; and even if it were possible to find, in the preposition or the stem, the meaning assigned, there would be an irony quite out of harmony with the surroundings in the statement that the Lakedaimonians had completed their expedition, when in fact they had been unable to leave their own territory. May not the explanation be found in a scribal blunder that would have been extremely easy, namely, the omission of *οὐκ* before *ἐξεστράτευσθαι*? This reading gives point to the middle voice as contrasted with the active of § 3; and the perfect with the negative conveys, in regard to an action past with reference to *πυθόμενοι*, the notion of inability that would be expressed, were the actions contemporaneous, by the present stem with the negative.

V 58 1: Ἀργεῖοι δὲ προαισθόμενοι τό τε πρῶτον τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς τὸν Φλειοῦντα βουλόμενοι τοῖς ἄλλοις προσμείζαι ἐχώρουν, τότε δὴ ἐξεστράτευσαν καὶ αὐτοί. In this passage the coordination that is effected by *τε . . . καί* has seemed to some critics to be inappropriate and inexact. Classen reads *τότε πρῶτον* and regards *καί* as an interpolation. Müller-Strübing¹⁾ writes *τό τε*, but thinks that some such words as *παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ξυμμάχους* should be inserted after *τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων*. Even Stahl, though he defends the reading of the manuscripts, speaks of the trajection of *τε*: "Particula *τέ* autem ita traiecta est, quasi sententia ea deinde ratione conformetur, quam interpretando expressit schol.: Ἀργεῖοι προαισθόμενοι τὴν τε πρώτην τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων παρασκευὴν καὶ αὐθις προσχωροῦντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ Φλειοῦντος ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοῖς ἰδίοις συμμῆσαι συμμάχους." But ἐπειδὴ

1) *Thukydideische Forschungen*. Wien 1881. p. 99 sqq.

with the imperfect often implies perception, and Thukydides can say *τό τε πρῶτον*, since he has in mind also something perceived later. Compare V 44 1: *οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ἀκούσαντες τῆς τε ἀγγελίας καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν οὐ μετ' Ἀθηναίων πραχθεῖσαν τὴν τῶν Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχίαν, . . . τῶν μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι πρέσβων . . . ἡμέλουν*. Also IV 116 1.

VII 60 5: *ὁ δὲ Νικίας, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἐτοῖμα ἦν, ὁρῶν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῷ τε παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς πολλὴ ταῖς ναυσὶ κρατηθῆναι ἀθυμοῦντας καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπάνιν ὥς τάχιστα βουλόμενος*¹⁾ *διακινδυνεύειν, ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας παρεκλεύσατό τε πρῶτον καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε*. Of recent editors Classen alone speaks in defense of *καὶ* before *τοὺς στρατιώτας*. He reasons that the preceding consultation had been held only with the strategi and taxiarchs, while here the effect that the measures adopted had had upon the whole body of troops is in question, and is assigned as the occasion of Nikias' summons of all to an assembly. But justification of the *καὶ* exists rather in the connection of the participle *ὁρῶν* with the preceding clause. Nikias sees that preparations are almost complete and that there is need to encourage the dispirited soldiers before the engagement.

The bearing of Thukydides' use of the reflexive pronoun upon this point is not to be overlooked. Dyroff²⁾ explains the appearance of *σφῶν* in temporal sentences where the use

1) This is the usual reading. Van Herwerden (*Mnem.* I N. S. p. 178 sq.) transposes *τε*, and writing *βυλόμενος*, gives: *ὁρῶν τε τοὺς στρατιώτας τῷ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς πολλὴ ταῖς ναυσὶ κρατηθῆναι ἀθυμοῦντας, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπάνιν ὥς τάχιστα βυλόμενος διακινδυνεύειν*. For, as he justly remarks, "pugnat illa militum ἀθυμία cum hac primo quoque tempore decernendi cupidine, nec quicquam est in Nicias concione, unde iste pugnandi ardor confirmari posse videatur." It seems better to follow the manuscripts more closely and write *ὁρῶν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῷ τε παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς πολλὴ ταῖς ναυσὶ κρατηθῆναι ἀθυμοῦντας καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπάνιν, ὥς τάχιστα βουλόμενος διακινδυνεύειν*. For *βουλόμενος* cf. II 86 6. There need be no objection in the array of participles, for *ὁρῶν* is closely united with the *ἐπειδὴ* clause in the expression of the external grounds, *βουλόμενος* gives the motive, and *ξυγκαλέσας* begins the description of the action. Cf. Stahl on III 3 5.

2) *Geschichte des Pronomen Reflexivum*. Schanz's *Beiträge*. Heft 9. 1892. II p. 11.

might be called anaphoric, by "subjectivity" of the pronoun. He considers the clause purely temporal in V 73 3: *καὶ γενομένον τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τούτῳ, ὥς παρῆλθε καὶ ἐξέκλιπεν ἀπὸ σφῶν τὸ στράτευμα, καθ' ἥσυχίαν ἐσώθησαν*, and he does not observe that the shift of pronouns corresponds to a shift of tenses in I 58 1: *ἐπειδὴ ἔκ τε Ἀθηναίων ἐκ πολλοῦ πρᾶσσοντες οὐδὲν ἠΐοντο ἐπιτήδειον, ἀλλ' αἱ νῆες ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφῶς ὁμοίως ἔπλεον, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Μακεδαιμονίων ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς, ἦν ἐπὶ Ποτειδαίαν ἴωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ἀτυκὴν ἐσβαλεῖν, τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀφίστανται*. This use of the reflexive pronoun as almost anaphoric in a temporal clause of antecedence occurs in the case of overlapping action when there is causal coloring. The instances are as follows: — I 30 3. 58 1. III 108 3. V 65 5. 73 3. VI 63 2. VII 80 1. A single passage shows *σφῶν* with the aorist, VIII 90 1: *πρότερόν τε, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα κατέστησαν καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ σφῶν ἐς δημοκρατίαν ἀπέστη, πρέσβεις τε ἀπέστελλον σφῶν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, . . . πολλὰ τε μᾶλλον ἔτι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πρέσβεις σφῶν ἦλθον, ὁρῶντες τοὺς τε πολλοὺς καὶ σφῶν τοὺς δοκοῦντας πρότερον πιστοὺς εἶναι μεταβαλλομένους*. The recurrence of *σφῶν* excites suspicion, and van Herwerden¹⁾ proposes to delete the word after *ἀπέστελλον*, on the ground that *ἐαυτῶν* or *σφῶν αὐτῶν* would be necessary under the circumstances. But compare Dyroff *op. cit.* p. 5. *σφῶν* preceding *δημοκρατίαν* can hardly be correct, for the democratic party was in power at Samos when the Four Hundred established themselves at Athens (VIII 21), the attempts at oligarchy had been unsuccessful (73 6), and the Four Hundred never had a sufficient hold at Samos to justify the expression *τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ σφῶν ἀπέστη*. Possibly *σαφῶς* was written by Thucydides, having regard to VIII 75 2: *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο λαμπρῶς ἤδη ἐς δημοκρατίαν βουλόμενοι μεταστῆσαι τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ*. The *σφῶν* before *ἦλθον* looks like a gloss; for it is not probable that the ten men sent to Samos were of the number of the Four Hundred, and as no envoys had been sent from Samos, there would

1) *Studia Thucydidea*. Traiecti ad Rhen. 1869. p. 109.

be no need to define *πρόσβεις* as those sent by the Four Hundred.

Similar domination of the agent of the main clause over the subordinate is seen in such a passage as II 81 7—8: *τῶν δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν στρατοπέδων οὐδέτερον ἦσθετο τῆς μάχης διὰ τὸ πολὺν προσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατόπεδον οὐκ εἶναι καταληψομένους ἐπείγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνέκειντο φεύγοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνελάμβαρόν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ξυναγαρόντες τὰ στρατόπεδα ἡσύχαζον.* Although *οἱ βάρβαροι* is formally the subject in the temporal clause, the failure to indicate the subject of *ἀνελάμβαρον* shows that the continuity of thought is almost as unbroken as if the subordinate clause read *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθάνοντο τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐγκειμένους.*

Clauses of antecedence offer three instances of the *historical present*. Which point of view does this represent? Two of the examples show verbs of perception, and the most that can be said is that they are not necessarily of either extensive or aoristic aspect. I 63 1: *ἐπαραχωρῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως, ὥς ὁρᾷ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἡσσημένον, ἠπόρησε μὲν ὁποτέρῳσε διακινδυνεύσει χωρήσας.* (Compare III 108 3. IV 33 1.) V 10 5: *κἂν τοῦτω Βρασίδας ὥς ὁρᾷ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων κινούμενον, λέγει τοῖς μετ' ἑαυτοῦ.* (Compare II 90 3. V 8 1.) The third case is as follows, VII 84 3: *ὥς δὲ γίγνεται ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐσπίπουν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔτι.* The action of the subordinate clause is wholly antecedent, and the point of view accordingly aoristic. (Compare VII 35 2.)

The position of the *perfect* stem in this connection remains to be considered. It has been seen above that, in the temporal correlation of two actions in strict sequence, an extensive view of the prior action leaves room for ambiguity, precision demands the aoristic view. An attempt to compensate for the loss of the extensive by substitution of the intensive was natural, and investigation shows that Thukydides uses the pluperfect in a temporal clause of pure antecedence when he wishes to compensate for the extensive view lost by the use of the aorist. The pluperfect thus corresponds to the im-

perfect in its power to express duration, description, causal color, and, with a negative, failure of power or will. Demand for the extensive view may be revealed in various ways. There is an adverb of extent of time in III 98 1: *ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ τε τοξάρχου ἀποθανόντος οὗτοι διεσκεδάσθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεκμήκεσαν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν τῷ αὐτῷ πόρῳ ξυνεχόμενοι, οἳ τε Αἰτωλοὶ ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον, οὕτω δὴ τραπόμενοι ἔφρευγον.* Often the action of the temporal clause has already been described by an imperfect or by a narrative. This is especially marked when pluperfect is combined with aorist, as in I 29 3—4: *οἱ Κερκυραῖοι κήρυκά τε προέπεμψαν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀκατίῳ ἀπεροῦντα μὴ πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἅμα ἐπλήρουν, ζεύξαντές τε τὰς παλαιὰς ὥστε πλοῖμους εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκευάσαντες. ὥς δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ τε ἀπήγγειλεν οὐδὲν εἰρηαῖον παρὰ τῶν Κορινθίων καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοῖς ἐπεπλήρουντο οὔσαι ὀγδοήκοντα, . . . ἐνανμάχην.*

Causal force and indication of the spectator are not infrequently found, as in VII 47 3: *τῷ οὖν Δημοσθένει οὐκ ἐδόκει ἔτι χοῆραι μένειν, ἀλλ' ἅπερ καὶ διανοηθεὶς ἐς τὰς Ἐπιπολάς διεκινδύνευσεν, ἐπειδὴ ἔσφαλτο, ἀπιέναι ἐψηφίζετο.* On this principle it is possible to explain the apparent anacoluthon in III 96 3: *τοὺς δὲ Αἰτωλοὺς οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν αὕτη ἢ παρασκευὴ οὔτε ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεβουλεύετο, ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ στρατὸς ἐσεβελήκει, πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐπεβοήθουν πάντες.* All that would be stated by a second clause modifying *οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν* and parallel with *ὅτε . . . ἐπεβουλεύετο* is given in *ἐπειδὴ . . . ἐσεβελήκει* if this has the force, 'after they saw that the army had entered', and Thukydides, with his characteristic *τάχος*, utilizes the possibility of proceeding thus to the next thought.

B. Contemporaneous action.

The different phases of contemporaneous action are marked by the forms assumed by both the independent and the subordinate verb. When distinction is possible between the present and aorist stems, if both verbs are of the present stem, the two actions may be coincident in extension — necessarily, if the conception of limit is involved — or one may be inserted in the other; if both verbs are of aoristic

form, the two actions are in aoristic coincidence; if one verb is of the present stem and the other of the aorist, one action is inserted in the other.

With regard to these distinctions notes may be made on a few passages.

I 138 1: *ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἐπέσχε τῆς Περσίδος γλώσσης ὅσα ἐδύνατο κατενόησε*. Though the aorist *ἐπέσχε* is used of action within which the action of the main clause is inserted, the accusative *ὃν* makes clear the extent of time, and the preposition *ἐν* marks the relation of insertion. Compare III 81 4. Elsewhere, with *ὃν* following the prepositions *κατά*, *περί*, *ἐπὶ*, in similar expressions, the subordinate verb is imperfect.

VI 92 4: *τό τε φιλόπολι οὐκ ἐν ᾧ ἀδικοῦμαι ἔχω, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπολιτεύθην*. In the first member of this sentence the forms do not determine whether the conception is that of coincident extension or of aoristic coincidence. In the second, however, *ἐπολιτεύθην* shows the aoristic view. Hence, while the supplement of Krüger and Classen, *ἔχον*, is in harmony with the scholiast's variation, *ἐπολιτευόμεν*, consistency would require here *ἔσχον*.

The form of insertion whereby the action of the temporal clause falls within the action of the main clause is used by Thukydides only to a limited extent. The imperfect of the substantive verb appears in the principal sentence five times (II 78 4: *τοσοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ ξύμπαντες ὅτε ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, καὶ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει οὔτε δοῦλος οὔτε ἐλεύθερος*. 99 6. 102 5. III 29 1. IV 91), and in two instances (I 25 4. II 13 9) *ὑπῆρχον* is found. A second verb of equivalent force is joined with *ἦν* in II 102 5: *πρὶν ἂν ἐδρῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατοικίσσῃται, ἥτις ὅτε ἔκτεινε τὴν μητέρα μῆπω ἐπὶ ἡλίου ἑωρᾶτο μηδὲ γῇ ἦν*. One case of the inverse construction with the perfect stem occurs, V 49 2: *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἀντέλεγον μὴ δικαίως σφῶν καταδικασθῆναι, λέγοντες μὴ ἐπηγγέλθαι πω ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα τὰς σπονδὰς, ὅτ' ἐσέπεμψαν τοὺς ὀπίλους*.

In consideration of the demand for the extensive view

under the conception of limit, comment upon some passages is necessary¹).

II 65 5: ὅσον τε γὰρ χρόνον προύστη τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ εἰρήρῃ, μετρίως ἐξηγήετο, καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξεν αὐτήν καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἐκείνον μεγίστη. The aorist in the temporal clause is owing to the limitations of the word employed. διεφύλαξεν is not a second member of the sentence modified by ὅσον χρόνον προύστη, and if a comma is to be used, it should be placed after ἐξηγήετο rather than after αὐτήν.

III 28 1: ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ἂν πάλιν ἔλθῃσι, Πάχητα μύτε δῆσαι Μυτιληναίων μηδὲνα μύτε ἀνδραποδίσαι. Here by confusion of ideas, a particle denoting limit in both directions is combined with a verb suited to a particle expressing limit in one direction. So III 52 3.

IV 39 1: χρόνος δὲ ὁ ξύμπας ἐγένετο ὅσον οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας μέχρι τῆς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μάχης, ἑβδομήκοντα ἡμέραι καὶ δύο. This is the only instance in which Thukydides chooses the conception of aoristic coincidence in connection with a particle denoting limited extent, and here it is justified by the character of the thought in the main clause.

In the two examples (II 21 1. 54 4) of a ὅτε clause after a verb of remembering, Thukydides uses the aorist.

The *historical present* in connection with temporal sentences of contemporaneity is used of the main action twice. VI 74 1: Ἀλκιβιάδης γὰρ ὅτε ἀπῆει ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡδὴ μετὰ πεμπτος, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι φεύξοιτο, μνηνέει τοῖς τῶν Συρακοσίων φίλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ Μεσσήρῃ ξυμφεδῶς τὸ μέλλον. VII 73 3: πέμπει τῶν εἰαύρων τινὰς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ ἱππέων πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον ἡρίκα ξυρεσκόταξεν. In both cases the principal action is inserted in that of the subordinate clause, and there is accordingly no restriction on the choice of conception as extensive or aoristic. In the subordinate clause of contemporaneity the historical present does not occur.

The *perfect* stem gives the extensive aspect in the

1) On I 90 3, see pp. 38 sq., 43 sq.

representation of a state or condition. Many of the passages need no comment.

I 39 3: οὓς χοῖν, ὅτε ἀσφαλέστατοι ἦσαν, τότε προσιέναι, καὶ μὴ ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἡδικήμεθα, οὗτοι δὲ κινδυνεύουσι, μηδ' ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς τῆς τε δυνάμεως αὐτῶν τότε οὐ μεταλαμβάνετε τῆς ὀφελείας νῦν μεταδώσετε.

I 137 4: Θεμιστοκλῆς ἦκω παρὰ σέ, ὃς κακὰ μὲν πλείστα Ἑλλήνων εἰργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὅσον χρόνον τὸν σὺν πατέρα ἐπιόντα ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη ἡμυνόμεν, πολὺν δ' ἔτι πλείω ἀγαθὰ, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ πάλιν ἢ ἀποκομιδῇ ἐρίγνετο. Here εἰργασμαι denotes a state resulting from a past action to which the temporal clauses ὅσον χρόνον . . . ἡμυνόμεν and ἐπειδὴ . . . ἐρίγνετο refer. A similar relation between the leading verb and the temporal clause will be seen in other instances.

II 11 6: χοῖν καὶ πάντ' ἐλπίζειν διὰ μάχης ἵεναι αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν ὥρμηται ἐν ᾧ οὕτω πάρεσμεν. 95 1-2: Σπάρτης δ' Τήρῳ Ὀδρύσης, Θουακῶν βασιλεύς, ἐστράτευσεν . . . δύνῳ ὑποσχέσεις τὴν μὲν βουλόμενος ἀναπρᾶξαι, τὴν δὲ αὐτὸς ἀποδοῦναι. ὃ τε γὰρ Περδικκας αὐτῷ ὑποσχόμενος . . . ἃ ὑπεδέξατο οὐκ ἐπιτέλει, τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις αὐτὸς ὠμολογῇ, ὅτε τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιεῖτο, τὸν ἐπὶ Θούρης Χαλκιδικὸν πόλεμον καταλίσειν. IV 85 2: νῦν γάρ, ὅτε παρῆσθεν, ἀφ' ἡμένοι καὶ μετὰ ὑμῶν πειρασόμεθα κατεργάζεσθαι αὐτούς.

IV 133 3: ἔτη δὲ ἡ Χρυσὶς τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐπέλαβεν ὁκτὼ καὶ ἑνατον ἐκ μέσου, ὅτε ἐπεφείγει. It seems impossible to account for the pluperfect in this sentence. Emendations propose, on the one hand, the imperfect or the aorist for the subordinate verb, and on the other, the deletion of the temporal clause¹). Since the clause is by no means superfluous, it is better to accept a change of tense.

V 49 2: ἀντέλεγον μὴ δικαίως σφῶν καταδικασθαι, λέγοντες μὴ ἐπηγγέλλθαι ποῦ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τὰς σπονδάς, ὅτ' ἐσέπεμψαν τοὺς ὀπλίτας. VI 49 1: ἔφη χοῖναι πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει ὡς τάχιστα τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι, ἕως ἔτι ἀπαράσκεινοι

1) Cf. Herwerden *ad loc.* and *Studia* p. 67. Rutherford. *Hude Commentarii critici ad Thucydidem pertinentes*. Hauniae 1888. p. 145.



τέ εἶσι καὶ μάλιστα ἐκπεπληγμένοι. VII 2 4: ἔτι γέ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ καιροῦ ἐλθὼν ἐν ᾧ ἐπὶ μὲν ἢ ὁκτὼ σταδίων ἤδη ἀπετετέλεστο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα διπλοῦν τεῖχος πλὴν κατὰ βραχὺ τι τὸ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν· τοῦτο δ' ἔτι ᾠκοδόμου.

C. Subsequent action.

The reverse of the relations of antecedence is seen in the case of subsequence. If the action of the main verb is viewed as aoristic, the relation is that of pure subsequence; if it is viewed as extensive, there may be pure subsequence, or the actions may overlap. When the actions overlap, the conception may also take the form of limit, and this is the only case in which there is restriction upon the aspect of the subordinate verb by reason of the temporal relations. If the verb in a clause of limit is aoristic, the action forms the limit, if the action is viewed as extensive, the limit falls within this action.

1. Main clause.

When discrimination between the present and aorist stems is possible, the verb upon which a clause with the infinitive after *πρὶν* depends is as a rule aoristic. Some instances of the present stem, when the actions do not overlap, call for notice. Expressions of customary or generic action are not in point.

II 56 1: ἔτι δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὄντων, πρὶν ἐς τὴν παραλίαν γῆν ἐλθεῖν¹⁾), ἐκατὸν νεῶν ἐπιπλοῦν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ παρεσκευάζετο. The *πρὶν* clause is added for accuracy of temporal definition, though a phrase with *ἔτι* already serves to designate the period within which the main action is inserted. So II 13 1. IV 14 1. Compare the similar usage with an adverb in V 8 4: ἐβουλέετο ἐπιχειρεῖν αἰγυιδίῳ, πρὶν ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

IV 78 5: ὁ δὲ κελεύοντων τῶν ἀγωνῶν, πρὶν τι πλεον ξυστῆναι τὸ πωλεῖσθαι, ἐχώρει οὐδὲν ἐπισχῶν δρόμῳ. Here the

1) Cobet (*Hyperidis Orationes Duae*. Lugd. Bat. 1877. pp. 59, 71) without good reason regards the *πρὶν* clause here and in II 13 1 as an interpolation. Van Herwerden also brackets *πρὶν* . . . *ἐλθεῖν* in II 56 1.

guides' order that Brasidas should proceed before any further hindrance should arise, and the narration of his compliance with the order are condensed into one statement.

On the other hand, forms from the present stem and not the aorist appear in the principal clause when the underlying conception is that of overlapping action. The notion of limit may enter, and accordingly clauses introduced by *ἕως*, *μέχρι*, and *μέχρι οὗ* are to be added to those with *πρὶν* and *πρότερον* ἢ.

In the first place, there are a few occurrences of *πρὶν* and *πρότερον* ἢ with the infinitive when the prior action has not ceased at the time when the later action begins. This relation is very clearly marked by other temporal expressions in VIII 45 1: *ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον, πρὶν ἔς τὴν Ῥόδον αὐτοὺς ἀναστῆναι, τάδε ἐπράσσειτο*. Without such modifiers is VIII 45 5: *τὰς δ' ἄλλας πόλεις ἔφη ἀδικεῖν, αἱ ἔς Ἀθηναίους πρότερον ἢ ἀποστῆναι ἀνήλουν, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν τοσαῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐθελήσουσιν ἐσφέρον*. The payments continued up to the time of the revolt. VI 29 1: *ὁ δ' ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὰ μὴνύματα ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ ἐτιόμιος ἦν πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν κρύεσθαι*. There is ellipsis of *ἦν* in VI 11 1: *ἀνώγειτον δ' ἐπὶ τοιοῦτους ἵεναι ὧν κρατήσας τε μὴ κατασχῆσαι τις καὶ μὴ κατορθώσας μὴ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καὶ πρὶν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἔσται*. Compare IV 85 4: *ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἰόμενοι τε παρὰ ξυμμάχους, καὶ πρὶν ἔργῳ ἀφικέσθαι, τῇ γούν γνώμῃ ἤξειν καὶ βουλομένοις ἔσεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.* In the case of V 65 3: *ὁ δὲ... πάλιν τὸ στοάτευμα κατὰ τάχος πρὶν ξυμμεῖξαι ἀπῆγε*, the succeeding narrative (66 1) shows that the army had not yet on the return march reached the camp, when an engagement took place. So in VIII 42 1: *ἐπέπλει οὖν ὥσπερ εἶχε πρὸς τὴν Σύνμηρ ὁ Ἀσιόχοχος πρὶν ἐκπυστος γενέσθαι*, the context shows that discovery was made during the approach of the ships. Compare III 30 1. Further, in I 141. 1: *αὐτόθεν δὴ διαροήθητε ἢ ἐπαποῦειν πρὶν τι βλαβῆναι ἢ, εἰ πολεμίσσομεν, κ. τ. λ.*, *ἐπαποῦειν* designates the alternative that involves no decisive action, but rather a continuation of the present condition. The imperfect in the isolated example of measure of space, with idea of

limit, is especially noteworthy, VI 97 3: *στάδιοι δὲ πρὶν προομεῖξαι ἐκ τοῦ λειμῶνος ἐγγήγοντο αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔλασσον ἢ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι*.

In the next place, passages in which a finite verb follows *πρὶν* or *πρότερον* ἢ, and in which clauses of posterior limit are introduced by *ἕως*, *μέχρι*, or *μέχρι οὗ* are to be examined. With *πρὶν* and *πρότερον* ἢ the main sentence is actually or virtually negative¹⁾ save in two cases (VII 39 2. 71 5), and here the verbs are in the imperfect. With the other conjunctions the leading verb is from the present stem as opposed to the aorist, except in the following instances. The clause depends upon an aorist participle in VII 26 3: *ὁ δὲ Χαρικλῆς περιμεύας ἕως τὸ χωρίον ἐξετείχεσε*. There is ellipsis in a few passages. I 28 5: *ἑτοῖμοι δὲ εἶναι καὶ ὥστε ἀμφοτέρους μένειν κατὰ χώραν, σπονδὰς δὲ ποιήσασθαι ἕως ἄν ἡ δίκη γένηται*²⁾. IV 46 3: *καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν νῆσον οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν Πιτυχίαν ἐς φυλακὴν διεκόμισαν ἐποσπόνδους μέχρι οὗ Ἀθήραζε πεμφθῶσιν*. VII 16 1: *οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες αὐτῆς τὸν μὲν Νικίαν οὐ παρέλκυσαν τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ, ἕως ἄν ἔτεροι ξυνάρχοντες αἰρεθέντες ἀφίζωνται, τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ δύο προσέειποντο*.

The determination of the form as present or aorist is a

1) See p. 8.

2) This is the reading of the manuscripts. There are three leading interpretations: (1) *μένειν* and *ποιήσασθαι* depend upon *ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι*, and *ὥστε* is pleonastic. To this it is objected that the redundant *ὥστε* is not found with *ἑτοῖμος* elsewhere. Herbst objects, further, that with this construction there is no expression of what the Coreyraeans assent to in their alternative proposition, namely, *δικάζεσθαι*. But *ἕως ἄν ἡ δίκη γένηται* may have final coloring. (2) *δικάζεσθαι* is to be supplied after *ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι*, and *ὥστε* introduces the two following infinitives. This is difficult, and gives no satisfactory result. (3) *δέ* after *σπονδὰς* is to be expunged, and the *ὥστε* clause made to depend upon *ποιήσασθαι*. But *ὥστε* should then introduce the object of the treaty, whereas the recall of forces or their maintenance in position appears throughout the chapter merely as conditional. The trouble centres about *ὥστε*, but it would be relieved by an easy emendation to *ὥς*. Then the phrase *καὶ ὥς* has here, as elsewhere, the force of affirmation even under circumstances contrary to those just described. Cf. Stahl on VIII 51 2. Moreover, this reading is confirmed by the scholium (the entire note is probably made up not of two comments, according to Stahl's arrangement, but of three): *ἑτοῖμοι δὲ εἶναι* ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑτοίμως ἔχουσιν, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνο βούλονται, σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι.

matter of accent in I 90 3: *ἐαυτὸν δ' ἐκέλευεν ἀποστέλλειν ὡς τάχιστα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα, ἄλλους δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐλομένους πρόσβεις μὴ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι τοσούτου ἕως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἱκανὸν αἰρώσων*¹⁾ ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιστέου ὕψους. *ἐπισχεῖν* has been written, and the following critical annotations are found. Bekker: "Nescio an rectius scribatur *ἐπίσχειν*." Poppo: "Bekkero *ἐπίσχειν* magis placeret. At *κατασχεῖν* habes capite proximo." Liddell and Scott quote the passage under *ἐπέχω* (absolute); and again under *ἐπίσχω* (intransitive), but with the perispomenon accent. The structure of the sentence, however, is against the rendering *aliquantum subsistere* (Bétant), and calls for transitive force, that *πρόσβεις* may be the object of this verb as well as of *ἐκπέμπειν*. Compare I 91 4: *οἳ τε οἷν Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πρόσβεις ὥσπερ ἐπεστάλη κατεῖχον. κατασχεῖν* (I 91 3), to which Poppo refers, is used of the act of seizure; not *κατασχεῖν* but *μὴ ἀφεῖναι* answers to *ἐπισχεῖν* here, and the aorist in that case is justified by the negative. Since Thukydides uses *ἐπίσχω* elsewhere (III 45 4, compare I 129 3), as well as *ἐπέχω*, it is certainly fair, if there is nothing to turn the scale, to write *ἐπίσχειν*.

The manuscripts read in V 26 1: *γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ἐξῆς, ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο, κατὰ θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας, μέχρι οὗ τήν τε ἀρχὴν κατέπαυσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξέμμαχοι*. Classen substitutes *ἐγγράφει* on other ground: "*ἐξῆς — χειμῶνας* übereinstimmend wie 2 1 [II 1: *γέγραπται δὲ ἐξῆς, ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγγράφει, κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα*], wesshalb ich auch hier *ἐγγράφει* st. *ἐγένετο* geschrieben habe, wie es der successiven Entwicklung der Begebenheiten (*ἐξῆς*) allein entspricht." This reading brings the passage into harmony with the principle under consideration.

The only remaining case is II 31 3: *ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὕστερον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐσβολαὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πανστρατιᾶ, μέχρι οὗ Νίσαια ἐάλω ἔπ' Ἀθηναίων*. In the other occurrences of *κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον*

1) See below p. 43 sq.

in Thukydides, the verb is always of the present stem as expressing iterative action, and it can hardly be too bold to write ἐγγίγνοντο here.

The *historical present* in the main clause represents both forms of conception, for the aspect is clearly extensive in III 29 1: τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηναίους λανθάνουσι, πρὶν δὴ τῇ Διήλῳ ἔσχωρ, whereas it is aoristic in II 12 2: ἀποπέμπουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι. 67 3: ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς πορευόμενους αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς Θοράκης ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ᾧ ἔμελλον τὸν Ἑλλησπορτον περαιοῦσιν, πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν ξιλλαμβάνει. 82: ἀναχωρεῖ παρ' αὐτοὺς πρὶν τὴν ξιμβολήθειαν ἐλθεῖν. An aorist participle intervenes between the temporal clause and the historical present in VI 4 2: πρὶν δὲ ἀναστῆναι, ἔτεσιν ἕσπερον ἑκατὸν ἢ αὐτοὺς οἰκίσαι, Πάμμυλον πέμψαντες Σελινόντηα κτίζουσι. In VI 97 2 πρὶν with the infinitive follows φθάσει ἀναβάς. There is ellipsis in III 28 2: Πάχης δ' ἀναστήσας αὐτοὺς ὥστε μὴ ἀδικοῦσαι, κατατίθεται ἐς Τέρεδον μέγροι οἷ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τι δόξη.

The *perfect* stem in a verb upon which a clause of subsequent action depends is found twice. IV 16 2: ἐσπεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰς μέγροι οἷ ἐπανέλθουσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρόεσβεις. This is in harmony with the use of the perfect in a clause of antecedent action, namely, to replace an aorist when the extensive view is desired. (Compare V 1.) IV 72 1: ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἑρ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ παρῆσαν, διανενοημένοι μὲν καὶ πρὶν Βουσίδαν πέμψαι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα. The participle must express time past with reference to the verb παρῆσαν, but the action of the main clause obviously overlaps upon that of the subordinate. Compare VI 93 1.

Here for the first time a discussion of the value of *future* forms as regards aspect is necessary. In clauses of antecedent action no futures are found, and in contemporaneous action there is so much freedom of choice between the aoristic view and the extensive that, after the influence of negatives is also taken into account, nothing noteworthy remains. In connection with clauses of subsequent action, however, a few occurrences of future stems deserve attention. IV 30 4: καὶ ἅμα γενόμενοι πέμπουσιν προῦτον ἐς τὸ ἐν τῇ ἡπερίῳ στρατόπεδον κήρυττα

προκαλούμενοι, εἰ βούλονται, ἄνευ κινδύνου τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἄνδρας σφίσι τὰ τε ὄπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κελεύειν παραδοῦναι, ἐφ' ᾧ *φνυλακῇ* τῇ μετρίᾳ τηροῦνται, ἕως ἄν τι περὶ τοῦ πλέονος ξυμβαθῇ. It has already been seen that the extensive view is used for a verb upon which a clause introduced by ἕως, 'until', depends; and that the form *τηροῦνται* should give this view is in accordance with the theory upheld by Blass¹). In IV 97 2 the sentence is negative, and there is ellipsis in VII 83 2: μέγροι δ' οὗ ἂν τὰ χορήματα ἀποδοθῇ, ἄνδρας δώσειν Ἀθηναίων δμῆρους, ἕνα κατὰ τάλαντον. With *πρὶν*, 'before', the aoristic conception in the main clause is expected, and two passages show an aorist participle accompanying the future verb, V 9 6: ἐγὼ μὲν ἔχων τοὺς μετ' ἑμᾶντοῦ καὶ φθάσας, ἢν δύνωμαι, προσπεσοῦμαι δρόμῳ κατὰ μέσον τὸ σπράτευμα. VIII 12 1: λέγων ὅτι φθίησονται τε πλείονες πρὶν τὴν τῶν νεῶν ξυμφορὰν Χίους αἰσθέσθαι. Finally, one sentence has a future form to which aoristic force is attributed by Blass, II 53 3: ἄδηλον νομίζων εἰ πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν διαφθαρήσεται.

2. Subordinate clause.

As regards aspect, the verb in a clause of pure subsequence is not restricted by the temporal relations. By virtue of their negative character, however, *πρὶν* and *πρότερον* ἢ naturally take the aorist²). Thukydides shows sixteen occurrences of the present, all with *πρὶν*. Of these, three (IV 2 1. 67 3. 125 4) have *εἶναι*, and two others (I 39 1. V 60 6) are of general action in the present sphere. Some have the notion of will or effort, as the imperfect with a negative has, while in a few cases the tendency of the verb may be influential (II 67 3. III 24 2. 64 3. IV 14 1 (*ἀνάγεσθαι*). V 84 3. VI 29 1 (*ἐκπλεῖν*). 61 1 (*ἐκπλεῖν*). In V 41 3: ἐκέλευον δ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν τέλος τι αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ἐς τὸ Ἄργος πρῶτον ἐπαραχωρήσαντας αὐτοὺς δεῖξαι τῷ πλίθῃ, καὶ ἢν ἀρέσκοντα ἦ, ἦκειν ἐς τὰ Ὑακίνθια τοὺς ὄρκους ποιησομένους, the character of the expression *τέλος* ἔχειν as a peri-

1) *Rh. Mus.* XLVII (1892) p. 269 sqq.

2) Gildersleeve *A. J. P.* II (1881) p. 466 sqq.

phrasis may account for the tense. In V 10 3, a negative in the principal clause gives to *πρὶν* the force of 'until', and the limit falls within the course of the action expressed by the infinitive. Twice a clause with *οὐ πρὶν* occurs, and the main action in reality falls within the action denoted by the present infinitive with *πρὶν*. I 39 2: *οὔτοι δ' οὐ πρὶν πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡγήσαντο ἡμῶς οὐ περιόψεσθαι, τότε καὶ τὸ εἰσπρεπὲς τῆς δόξης παρέσχοιτο*. The offers of arbitration by the Corcyraeans took place after the siege had been begun and while it was still in progress. So I 68 2.

With *πρὶν* and *πρότερον* ἢ followed by a finite verb, and with the other conjunctions of limit, the subordinate verb is aoristic unless the limit of the prior action is within the posterior. In the latter case, as in overlapping antecedent action, the spectator may be indicated. The number of instances of limit falling within an action is small.

a) With the imperfect indicative. I 30 3: *τοὺς τῶν Κορινθίων ξυμμάχους ἐπιπλέοντες ἔφθειρον, μέχρι οὗ Κορινθιοὶ περὶοντι τῷ θέρει πέμψαντες ραῖς καὶ στρατιάν, ἐπεὶ σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόρουν, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐπὶ Ἀζίῳ*. Here *ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο* means not 'encamped', but 'were in camp', in accordance with the constant usage of Thukydides. Compare Stahl on VI 42 1. The aorist is the form employed for the meaning 'to pitch a camp'; and despite Rutherford's change of present and imperfect to perfect and pluperfect when the force 'to be in camp' is required, the perfect has a force of its own. It occurs only in the participle (IV 54 1. VI 88 3), and is used with reference to a past stay in camp, for in both passages the narrative immediately following shows the camp broken up.

I 118 2: *οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι οὔτε ἐκώλυνον εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχὺ, ἡσύχαζόν τε τὸ πλεόν τοῦ χρόνου, . . . πρὶν δὲ ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀθηναίων σαφῶς ἦροτο καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας αὐτῶν ἥπιοντο*.

V 82 3: *οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥς μὲν αὐτοὺς μετεπέμποντο οἱ φίλοι, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐκ πλείονος, ἀναβαλόμενοι δὲ τὰς γυνυποπαιδίας ἐβροήθουν*. The difficulty is to assign to *ἐκ πλείονος* its usual force when used temporally by Thukydides, that is,

'for a long time before', *iam dudum* (IV 42 3. 103 4. VIII 88. 91 1); and to obtain the needed temporal opposition for the *μέν* and *δέ* clauses. Krüger suspects the genuineness of the tradition. Stahl and van Herwerden mark a lacuna after *ἐκ πλείονος*. Classen suggests that *ἐκ πλείονος* may mean 'with great zeal'. The citation of the sentence in the discussion of 'posterior limit' has already suggested a way of escape. *ἕως* is not 'while' but 'until'. *ἕως μὲν* marks the limit of the extended action denoted by *οὐκ ἦλθον ἐκ πλείονος*, and *ἀναβαλλόμενοι δέ* introduces the action that follows.

VIII 24 5: *καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπόστασιν, εἰ τοῦτο δοκοῦσι παρὰ τὸ ἀσφαλέστερον προᾶξαι, πρότερον ἐτόλμησαν ποιήσασθαι ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν τε κἀγαθῶν ξυμμάχων ἔμελλον ξυγκινδυνεύσειν καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡσθάνοντο οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἔτι μετὰ τὴν Σικελικὴν ξυμφορὰν ὥς οὐ πᾶν πόνηρα σφῶν βεβαίως τὰ πράγματα εἶη*. Classen adopts from the Vaticanus *μεθ' ὧν* after *ξυμμάχων*, and makes *ἡσθάνοντο* coordinate with *οὐδ' ἐτόλμησαν*. Apart from the question of historical basis, which Stahl shows to be in favor of the former text, the objection to *ἡσθάνοντο*¹⁾ overlooks the nice correspondence, under antecedence and subsequence, between this passage and such a sentence as III 108 3: *ἐπαραχωροῦντες δέ, ὥς ἐώρων τὸ πλεόν νενικημένον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀχαρνᾶνες σφίσι προσέκειντο, χαλεπῶς διεσφύζοντο ἐς τὰς Ὀλπας*.

b) With the present optative. III 102 7: *ἡσύχαζε τῶ στρατῷ περὶ τοὺς χώρους τούτους, ἕως τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἐκστρατευσάμενοις περὶ τὸ Ἄργος δέοι βοηθεῖν*.

One other passage showing the present stem is to be considered. I 90 3: *ἐαντὸν δ' ἐκέλευεν ἀποστέλλειν ὥς τάχιστα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἄλλους δὲ πρὸς ἐναντῷ ἐλομένους πρόσβεις μὴ εἰδὼς ἐκπέμπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπίσχειν μέχρι τοσοῦτου ἕως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἱκανὸν αἰῶσιν ὥστε ἀπομαχέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ὕψους*. The present *αἰῶσιν* is the reading of the manuscripts. It has been justly criticized, however, as inappropriate to the clause as an expression of posterior limit,

1) By a strange lapse Goodhart cites III 2 1 in support of this imperfect with *πρότερον* ἤ.

for the end is definitely stated to be the least possible height for defense. Bekker's correction to *ἄρῳσαν* has therefore been widely adopted. Shilleto, defending the manuscript reading, says: "It must first be noticed that whereas we have now a marked distinction between *while* and *until*, the Greeks and Latins had the same words *ἕως*, *ἔστε*, *μέχρι* or *μέχριπερ*, *dum*, *donec*, the tenses alone fixing the meaning of the particles." He translates the sentence, "till we are raising our wall to the barest possible height to fight from". Arnold, before him, says: "It [*ἕως ἄν ἀρῳσαν*] may signify, 'all the time that they were raising', but then *μέχρι τοσούτου* seems to be less suitable than *πάντα τὸν χρόνον*. I have therefore adopted Bekker's correction." But *τοσούτου* is a word not of position but of extent, and *μέχρι* means 'during' as well as 'until'¹⁾. It seems possible to keep the manuscript reading, and the meaning, then, is doubtless 'to detain them for so long a time as they were raising the wall to a sufficient height'. Either interpretation of *ἕως* requires the extensive view in the verb upon which the clause depends²⁾.

The *historical present* in clauses of posterior limit is found three times, and the context shows that in each case the verb must be interpreted as aoristic. I 132 5: ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς οὐδὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων μνηστῆς τι σιστεύσαντες ἠξίωσαν νεότερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν, ... πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς ... ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος ... μνηστῆς γίγνεται ... καὶ ... λῆει τὰς ἐπιστολάς. ... τότε δὴ οἱ ἔφοροι δείξαντες αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα μᾶλλον μὲν ἐπίστευσαν. VII 39 2: ἐπὶ πολὺν διήγον τῆς ἡμέρας πειρώμενοι ἀλλήλων, πρὶν δὴ Ἀρίστων ... πείθει τοὺς σφετέρους τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἄρχοντας. ... καὶ οἱ μὲν πεισθέντες ἔπεμψαν ἄγγελον. 81 4: οὐ προνχόρει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς μάχην ξυρετάσσειτο, ἕως ἐνδιατρίβων κυκλοῦνταί τε ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν πολλῶν θορόβῳ αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ [Ἀθηναῖοι] ἦσαν. ἀνελθόντες γὰρ ἕς τι χωρίον ᾧ κύκλω μὲν τευχίον περιῆν, ... ἐβάλλοντο περιστάδον.

1) Cf. V 47 6. — Herodotos uses *μέχρι ὅσον* of coextension, VIII 3: ἐπιστάμενοι ὅν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντέτεινον ἀλλ' εἶπον, μέχρι ὅσον κάστα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὥς διέδεξαν. Cf. Hdt. VIII 84.

2) See p. 38 sq.

The *perfect* stem does not occur in a clause of subsequent limit or of pure subsequence.

§ 4. CONJUNCTIONS.

A. Antecedence.

1) *ἐπεί*, *ἐπειδή*, *ἐπὶν*, *ἐπειδάν*.

That these conjunctions usually denote antecedence is undisputed. In answer to the question whether Thukydides uses them to express pure contemporaneity, the discussion of one or two passages must suffice.

II 34 2—3: τὰ μὲν ὅσα προτίθενται τῶν ἀπογερομένων πρό-
τιστα σκηρὴν ποιήσαντες, καὶ ἐπιφέρει τῷ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἢν τι
βούληται. ἐπειδάν δὲ ἡ ἐκφορὰ ἦ, λάρνακας κρηταρισόνας ἄγονσαι
ἄμαζαι. Although it has already been seen that the combi-
nation of *ἐπεί* and its derivatives with the present stem de-
notes action partially, indeed, contemporaneous, but also
antecedent, nevertheless, since in the present passage the
predicates of the two clauses concern the same action, *ἐπειδάν*
might seem a precise equivalent of *ὅταν*. Marchant takes
this view, and writes: “*ἐπειδάν* — used here like *ὅταν*. Con-
trast 6 below and c. 72 3.” But in the case of Thukydides,
it is not a vain inquiry to ask why this word was chosen
and not that; and accordingly, here it may be asked why
Thukydides should choose not ‘when’ but ‘after’. Has not
ἐπειδάν some force that *ὅταν* would not convey? Slight though
it may be, ground seems to exist in an opposition. There
is a contrast between events on one side of a fixed point and
those on the other; events before are balanced with events
after. This opposition finds expression in the particles *μέρ*
and *δέ*, and the one force represented in *πρότιστα* must find
its counterweight in *ἐπειδάν*.

A parallel passage is found in VII 23 2: καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ
πρώτου ἁλόντος χαλεπῶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι... ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
ἐξεκομίζοντο· τῶν γὰρ Συρακοσίων ταῖς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι ναυσὶ
κρατούντων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ὑπὸ τριήρους μιᾶς καὶ εἰς πλεούσης ἐπε-
διώκοντο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ δύο τειχίσματα ἠλίσκετο, ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ
Συρακόσιοι ἐτύγχανον ἤδη νικώμενοι, καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν φεύγοντες

ῥῶτον παρέπλευσαν. Classen says: “ἐπειδὴ — ἡλίσκετο, genaue Angabe der gleichzeitigen (Imperf.) Vorgänge an zwei verschiedenen Punkten: ‘zu der Zeit, da die beiden kleineren Forts in die Hände der syrak. Landtruppen fielen, hatte sich das Kriegsglück bei der Flotte geändert.’” But here again there is opposition, the contrast between events following a turn of fortune and events previous.

2) ὥς.

The Protean character of ὥς somewhat resists analysis. Apart from uses foreign to the present subject, ὥς, beginning as a modal particle, assumes temporal and causal significance. The beginnings of temporal force may be felt in a construction occasionally found, in which ὥς comparative has καί as correlative; for example, VIII 27 5: ὥς δὲ ἔπεισε, καὶ ἔδρασε ταῦτα. From such forms the development of a temporal clause is easy. Compare the use of *ut* in Latin. This temporal clause is naturally of antecedent action, and ὥς becomes a less precise synonym of ἐπεὶ. Curschmann¹⁾ goes too far when he says: “Ubi nihil refert diserte exprimi et efferri, quod enuntiato temporali expressum sit aut eodem tempore aut prius factum esse, ubi vinculo laxo enuntiata et temporale et primarium coniungenda sunt, ibi ὥς invenimus.”

In order to maintain the position that Thucydides uses ὥς as a conjunction of antecedence, a few passages require notice. Wisén²⁾, after citing instances in which a phrase with ἐν serves as correlative antecedent to ὥς, and sentences in which οὕτω δὴ and τότε δὴ serve as resumptive particles after ὥς, states that the actions of main and subordinate clause take place at one and the same time. But a phrase with ἐν may be used with a clause of overlapping antecedent action, and οὕτω δὴ and τότε δὴ are employed by Thucydides after temporal clauses other than those introduced by ὥς, only with the conjunction ἐπειδὴ³⁾. Beyond the passages designated by

1) *Progr.* Giessen 1876. p. 3.

2) *De vi et usu particulae ὥς apud Thucydidem.* Hauniae 1862. p. 31.

3) *Cf.* also Stahl's emendation of IV 30 2.

Wisén, there are three sentences in which *ὥς* has been regarded as denoting contemporaneity.

I 19: καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡ ἰδία παρασκευὴ μεῖζων ἢ ὥς τὰ κράτιστά ποτε μετὰ ἀκραιφνοῦς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἦνθησαν. Here the question is complicated by the uncertainty hovering about other parts of the sentence. Classen translates, "und so bildete sich die Kriegsmacht eines jeden der beiden Staaten (ἡ ἰδία παρασκευ.) zu einer grösseren aus, als da sie mit der gesammten Bundesgenossenschaft vereint auf der Höhe ihrer Macht gestanden hatten." Herbst¹⁾ justly objects to this extravagant statement, and explains that "beide sich jetzt ein jeder auf seine weise mit kränkung seiner bisherigen bundesgenossen, so zu sagen eine eigne hausmacht beschafft haben. Diese hausmacht des einzelnen jetzt ist grösser als die grösste macht, die der einzelne je früher in verbindung mit seiner noch ungeschädigten bundesgenossenschaft besessen hatte." The contrast always implicit in *ἴδιος* seems here to be between the central power in its independence at the opening of the war and in its union with allies previously. These two ideas are compared by the words *μεῖζων ἢ* — 'their own resources for the war were greater than their own together with those of the allies at the most flourishing period of the undisturbed alliance'. *ὥς* thus is modal.

IV 117 2: τοὺς γὰρ δὴ ἄνδρας περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο κομίσασθαι, ὥς ἔτι Βρασιδάς ἡντίχρει, καὶ ἐμελλον ἐπὶ μεῖζον χωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀντίταλα καταστήσαντος, τῶν μὲν στέρεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἀμυνόμενοι κινδυνεύειν, καὶ κρατῆσαι²⁾. The early exegesis of Herbst³⁾, which is adopted by Classen, makes *ὥς* comparative; hence if this interpretation were accepted, the passage would not bear upon the present question. Herbst's later judgment⁴⁾ is in favor of the reading given by

1) *Philol.* XXXVIII (1879) p. 535 sq.

2) An extended discussion of various interpretations may be found in *Studien zu Thucydides* — Hampke. *Progr.* Lyck 1876. p. 24 sqq.

3) *Philol.* XVI (1860) p. 313 sqq.

4) *Zu Thuk. Erklärungen u. Wiederherstellungen.* Leipzig 1892. p. 102.

the scholiast on Arist. *Ran.* 478: ἕως ὃ τε Βρασιδᾶς ἐντύχει. The explanation of Golisch and Hampke makes ὥς practically equivalent to ἕως; and Stahl, on the unstable support of I 19 and V 20 1, translates by *quando*. The whole passage, however, would become clearer if ὥς were regarded as a conjunction of antecedence and interpreted as elsewhere in combination with the imperfect, 'after they saw that'. Compare IV 79 2: ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ὥς τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡντύχει, δέισαντες οἳ τε ἐπὶ Θούρης ἀφροσύνας Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοπόννησος ἐξήγαγον τὸν στρατόν. The comparative force of περὶ πλέονος is met by the comparative force of 'after'. The following words, καὶ ἔμελλον . . . καὶ κρατήσκειν, may be co-ordinated with ἡντύχει; the good fortune of Brasidas means victory for the Lakedaimonians. Between the verb ἔμελλον and its complement κρατήσκειν is a long insertion, subordinate in construction. τῶν μὲν is perhaps a copyist's correction of τοῖς μὲν, for the μὲν and δέ clauses may well represent respectively the Athenian and Lakedaimonian sides established by Brasidas as ἀντίπαλα. The passage resembles IV 73 4. The meaning, then, would be somewhat as follows: 'For they were interesting themselves more in the recovery of their men after they saw that Brasidas was still fortunate, and that if his success increased and he balanced loss on the Athenian side with defense risked without disadvantage on their own, they were going to conquer.'

V 20 1: αὐται αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο . . . ἀπτόδεκα ἐτῶν διελθόντων καὶ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων παρενεγκουσῶν ἢ ὥς τὸ πρῶτον ἢ ἐσβολῇ ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ ἢ ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐγένετο. The explanation of Bauer, that the comparative particle ἢ follows ὅσπερ latent in the general idea of the sentence is unsatisfactory. There might, indeed, be some such irregularity if the following words were consistent with the construction to which the shift was made. But one would not then expect the word ὥς. (Compare I 51 4. 60 3. VI 4 2.) It seems better to reject ἢ¹), and take ὥς as in IV 90 3.

1) Cf. Morris on I 13 3.

It may be considered, then, that *ὥς*, for Thukydides at least, is a conjunction of antecedence.

3) ὥστερον ἤ.

ὥστερον ἤ is indisputably used of antecedent action, and that only.

4) ἀφ' οὗ.

A preposition of motion from with the relative pronoun may serve as a conjunction of antecedence. It is apparent that this combination means 'after' only in the sense of 'from the time when'.

5) τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἤ.

ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα finds a virtual equivalent in τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἤ ἄν (VI 23 2).

6) ὁσάκις.

ὁσάκις in its single appearance is used of antecedent action, where perhaps ἐπειδὴ with the optative might have stood, had not this conjunction already been used to introduce the clause in which the ὁσάκις clause is incorporated, VII 18 3: ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς τριάκοιτα ναυσὶν ἐξ Ἀργους ὁρμώμενοι Ἐπιδαύρου τέ τι καὶ Πρασιῶν καὶ ἄλλα ἐδήρουν καὶ ἐκ Πύλου ἄμα ἐλήστερον καί, ὁσάκις περὶ τοῦ διαφορᾶ γέροντο τῶν κατὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀμφισβητουμένων, ἐς δίκας προαζαλουμένων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ἤθελον ἐπιτρέπιν, τότε δὲ, κ. τ. λ.

B. Contemporaneity.

1) α ὅτε, ὁπότε, ὅταν, ὁπόταν.

The actions correlated by these conjunctions are in the main contemporaneous. Occasionally, however, the writer unites under the general conception of contemporaneity actions strictly sequent. So in a few passages ἤλθον and ἐξῆλθον occur where the action of the independent verb is really subsequent to the actual coming or going out (ἤλθον — I 73 4. VI 46 3. VIII 73 2. ἐξῆλθον — IV 5 1. VII 4 6). Verbs of asking and answering are connected by ὁπότε in I 90 5: καὶ ὁπότε τις αὐτὸν ἔρωτο τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπέρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν, ἔφη τοὺς ξυμπρόσβεις ἀναμένειν. Other instances are I 91 3: ἐφοβέτο γὰρ μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς, ὁπότε

σαφῶς ἀκούσεται, οὐδέ τι ἀφῶσον. IV 111 1: ἐξατὸν δὲ πελταστὰς προπέμπει, ὅπως, ὅποτε πύλαι τινὲς ἀνοιχθῆεν καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἀρθῇ ὃ ξινέζεται, προῶτοι ἐσδράμοιεν. VII 50 3: προεῖπον ὡς ἐδύναντο ἀδελφώτατα ἔκπλουν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πᾶσι, καὶ παρασθενάσθαι¹⁾, ὅταρ τις συμῆγη. Once ὅτε is said to be used for 'since'. I 13 3: ἔτη δ' ἐστὶ μάλιστα τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευταίην τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίους ἦλθεν. It is to be supposed, however, that ὅτε is still 'when' in the thought of the writer, just as ταύτη in 13 4 shows position, not measure from a point

b. ἡνίκα.

Contemporaneous actions in the relation of insertion are brought together by this conjunction in the single passage where it occurs (VII 73 3).

c. Forms of ὅς.

It is evident that dative forms with or without ἐν, the accusative denoting extent, and the local-temporal genitive οὗ express contemporaneity; but here, too, employment with actions strictly sequent is possible. Compare VII 29 4: τὸ γὰρ γένος τῶν Θρακῶν, ὁμοῖα τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαριζοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἂν θαρσύνῃ, φοριζώτατόν ἐστι.

2) Conjunctions of limit.

a. ἕως.

In the expression of extent ἕως is a conjunction of pure contemporaneity. It may be used of action within which the main action is inserted — 'while'; or of action coincident in extent with the main action — 'so long as'.

b. μέχρῃ, μέχρῃ οὗ.

μέχρῃ is twice (III 10 4. 98 1) used of coincident extension. μέχρῃ μὲν οὗ is given by some manuscripts, μέχρῃ μὲν οὖν by B and F, in II 21 1: Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, μέχρῃ μὲν οὗ περὶ Ἐλεῖναι καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον ὁ στρατὸς ἦν, καὶ τινα

1) The emendation of Abresch, παρασθενάσθαι for παρασθενάσθαι, seems unnecessary, for there may be a "Ready!" before the "Go!" See, among other discussions of the passage, Junghahn *Studien zu Thukydides. Neue Folge*. Berlin 1886. p. 54 sqq.

ἐλπίδα εἶχον. If this reading is correct, the passage is the only one in which μέχρι οὗ does not mean 'until'.

c. Forms of ὅσος.

ἐν ὅσῳ shares the meanings of ἕως — 'while', of partial coincidence (VIII 61 1); and 'so long as' (III 81 2. VIII 87 1; 4). By confusion of ideas it is used with constructions implying the force 'until' in the conjunction (III 28 1. 52 3). The accusative ὅσον needs no remark¹).

C. Subsequence.

1) πρὶν, πρότερον ἢ.

The leading conjunction is πρὶν. πρότερον ἢ of pure subsequence appears four times (I 69 5. II 40 2. VI 58 1. VIII 45 5).

2) Conjunctions of limit.

a. πρὶν.

With a finite verb πρὶν is used of subsequent action overlapping, in the meaning 'until'.

b. ἕως.

c. μέχρι, μέχρι οὗ.

d. ἕς ὃ.

ἕς ὃ is read in V 66 2: μάλιστα δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἕς ὃ ἐμνήρητο ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐξεπλήγησαν²). In such connection it is ἅπασιν εἰρημένον, and is probably an expression less of time than of degree — not 'so far back as they remembered', but 'so far as they remembered'. The parallel passage, II 8 3, shows ἅπ' οὗ.

§ 5. RELATIVE POSITION OF CLAUSES.

In the arrangement of the period, the subordinate clause may precede or follow the main clause, or may be inserted between parts of the main clause. Often the principal member of the sentence is represented by its subject, or some word

1) Cf. ὅσον in II 23 3: χρόνον ἐμμένοντες ἐν τῇ Ἀτινῇ ὅσον εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀνεχώρησαν. So οὗ in III 1 2.

2) The correctness of the passage has been questioned. See Classen, Stahl, et al.

or phrase, placed in advance of a temporal clause that precedes the predicate upon which it depends. Sometimes a colorless auxiliary verb of the main clause thus precedes, while the complement follows the subordinate clause. When two or more clauses are found in paratactic construction with the same leading verb, this verb often takes an inclusive position before or after the clauses. With constructions more or less elliptical in character, as with comparatives, *ἄλλως τε καί, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἔτι*, and the like, the orderly march of clauses is broken. In the temporal use of relative forms with expressed antecedent, Thukydides shows the antecedent always in advance unless it is incorporated in the relative clause. Otherwise, deviation from the normal arrangement by which a prior clause precedes the main clause, a posterior follows, is in general a mark of a developed style.

A. Prior clauses.

Clauses of antecedence that follow the independent predicate are chiefly of a few types easily discerned.

It is natural that when the clause marks an anterior limit, 'since', 'after', the action to be limited should be expressed first. Accordingly the temporal clause follows that which it modifies in III 70 1: *οἱ γὰρ Κερκυραῖοι ἐστασίαζον ἐπειδὴ οἱ αἰχμαλώτοι ἦλθον αὐτοῖς*. In II 73 3: *οὐτ' ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου . . . ἂν οὐ ξύμμαχοι ἐγενόμεθα, Ἀθηναῖοί φασιν ἐν οὐδενὶ ἡμᾶς προσέσθαι ἀδικουμένους*, since the clause introduced by *ἂν οὐ* determines a limit of *ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου*, it follows this immediately. Compare VIII 81 1: *Θρασύβουλος, αἰεί γε τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐχόμενος, ἐπειδὴ μετέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε κατὰγειν Ἀλκιβιάδην*. So regularly with an expression of the lapse of time, or with an ordinal numeral: *ἐπειδὴ* — I 6 3; 5. III 68 5. VIII 68 4. *ἐπὶ* — V 47 6. *ἂν οὐ* — I 14 3. 18 1. II 8 3. 102 6. III 116 2. *ὥς* — IV 90 3. V 20 1¹). The *ἐπεὶ* clause is pushed forward by the *πρὶν* clause

1) Cf. p. 48.

in VI 2 5: καὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς γῆς ὄκησαν ἔχοντες, ἐπεὶ διέβησαν, ἔτη ἑγγὺς τριακόσια ποῖν Ἑλλήνας ἐς Σικελίαν ἐλθεῖν¹⁾).

The temporal clause sometimes stands between a participle and the finite verb of the sentence when presumably the action of the participle follows that of the subordinate clause, as III 24 3: οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Πλαταιῆς . . . κήρωνα ἐκπέμψαντες, ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐσπένδοντο ἀνάρεσιν τοῖς νεκροῖς, and clearly in I 49 1: ξυμμείζαντες δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκατέρωτοι ἦροθη, ἐνανμάχον. Compare V 59 2. VII 34 4. The clause is inserted between μέλλω and the infinitive in VII 50 4: καὶ μελλόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐτοῖμα ἦν, ἀποπλεῖν ἢ σελήνη ἐκλείπει. Expressions like ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶδον regularly come last; and this is the case even when the temporal element is brought out by the adverb εὐθὺς in VII 69 1: καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοὶ καὶ Γύλιππος τοιαῦτα καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς σφετέρους στρατιώταις παρακελευσάμενοι ἀντεπλήρουν τὰς ραῖς εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤσθάνοντο. In other passages, elliptical construction, or parallel structure in the temporal modification of the main verb, or epexegetical and causal character of the subordinate clause account for an arrangement by which the temporal clause follows the verb upon which it depends. ἐπεὶ — I 30 3. II 51 5²⁾. ἐπειδὴ — I 137 4. II 3 1. 86 4. III 16 4. 31 2. 33 3. IV 73 4. 132 2. 133 1. V 22 2. 29 1. 50 4. VII 18 1. 46. 69 2. 80 1. VIII 31 1. 52. 82 2. 90 1. 91 1. 105 3. ὥς — I 61 1. III 69 2. IV 96 5. 117 2³⁾. V 59 2. 61 5. 72 1. [116 3⁴⁾.] VI 102 2. 103 3. VII 23 1. VIII 25 4. 94 1. 100 4.

With clauses of contemporaneity, modification of position is easier. Designation of the limits within which an action falls or of the measure of its extent is not infrequently placed after the verb expressing the action. ἕως — I 58 2. 90 3. II 72 3. III 82 2. IV 67 4. V 60 3. 75 5. VI 49 1; 2.

1) On V 18 5 see p. 17 sq.

2) See p. 26 sq.

3) See p. 47 sq.

4) See p. 65, footnote 12.

VII 47 3. 71 4. VIII 40 3. 78. ὅσον — I 137 4. (See also IV 39 1.) Compare ἐν ὅσῳ — III 52 3. VIII 87 4. Epexegetical clauses, clauses that follow ὅσπερ or ἢ, and many other cases show postposition of the subordinate member of the sentence. ἡρίξα — VII 73 3. ὅτε — I 8 2. 9 2. II 95 2. 98 2. III 13 1. 34 1. 55 1; 3. 56 4. 68 1. 96 3. 113 1. IV 34 1. 92 6. 116 2. 133 3. V 16 3. 30 2. 41 2. VI 31 1. 46 3. 86 5. VIII 73 2. 76 4. 78. 86 3. 108 4. ὁπότε — II 13 7. 18 2. 51 4. III 22 3. IV 23 2. 26 7. V 16 1. VI 66 1. 97 5. VII 48 1. 70 3. ὅταν — I 36 1. 141 6. 142 1. 144 2. II 11 6. III 39 7. 56 7. IV 64 3. V 47 7. 98. VI 79 1. VII 50 3. ὁπότεν — II 84 2. IV 21 2. V 7 5. VIII 67 3. ἐν ᾧ — I 39 3; 3. II 11 6. III 39 2. [84 2.] IV 17 2.

B. Posterior clauses.

In one case of inverse insertion, the temporal clause precedes the main verb, II 102 5: πρὶν ἂν ἐξῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χῶρῃ κατοικήσῃται, ἵπτις ὅτε ἔκτεινε τὴν μητέρα μύπω ἐπὶ ἡλίου ξωράτο μηδέ γῇ ἦν.

As regards subsequent action, πρὶν and πρότερον ἢ with the infinitive seem not to be given the full rights of a clause, for the phrase more often precedes than follows the principal verb. Sometimes the position of the πρὶν clause is influenced by the fact that it is parallel with another temporal modifier. οὐ πρὶν precedes the leading verb, I 39 2. 68 2. The other passages in which the verb that expresses the subsequent action precedes are as follows. πρὶν — I 20 2. 39 1. 78 1. II 13 1. 53 3; 4. 56 1. 67 3. 93 1. III 46 6. 69 2. 94 4. IV 2 1. 14 1. 67 3. 69 1. 70 2. 78 5. 85 4. 101 4. 125 1; 4. 135 1; 1. V 9 6. 38 2. 41 3. 60 6. 65 3. 84 3. VI 4 2. 29 1. 61 1. 76 1. 97 3. VII 28 3. 36 1. 50 4. VIII 45 1. πρότερον ἢ — VI 58 1. VIII 45 5.

A clause of posterior limit rarely precedes. ἕως — V 82 3. VII 16 1 (ellipsis). μέχρι οὗ — V 26 4 (the clause is one of two temporal modifiers of the main verb). VII 83 2 (ellipsis). πρὶν — VI 29 2. Compare ἐν ὅσῳ — III 28 1.

CHAPTER II.

A classified collection of the temporal clauses in Thukydides follows. It is difficult to draw a line between temporal clauses and causal, and between temporal clauses and circumstantial; but it has seemed best to include in the following catalogue doubtful cases in which an interpretation as temporal is possible.

Since neither the extensive nor the aoristic conception can claim for itself alone the copulative verb, the occurrence of this in forms of the imperfect indicative, the subjunctive, and the optative, has been noted. *ἔφηρ* and *φαίηρ* have been classed as aoristic¹⁾, but the verb is specified when it occurs.

ἔπει.

Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — I 30 3. 49 7²⁾. II 3 4³⁾. 51 5⁴⁾. 81 8. V 69 1. VI 65 1⁵⁾. VII 34 4. b) Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — II 65 5⁶⁾. III 24 3. IV 30 2⁷⁾. 44 2. 83 2⁸⁾. VI 2 5. 50 5⁹⁾. VII 1 1. 26 1. 44 7. VIII 90 1¹⁰⁾. c) Subordinate

1) Cf. Gildersleeve *A. J. P.* IV (1883) p. 161.

2) Twice. For the first verb the best manuscripts have *ἐγένετο*, but Classen rightly points out that *ἐγένετο* is necessary. The expression of the critical moment when the change came does not, as is held by Boehme-Widmann, require the aorist, but is found in the opposition of *ἐπεί δέ* to *τὸ μὲν προῖον*. The imperfect is not inconsistent with *λαμπρόως*: cf. *σαρκῶς* in I 118 2. On the reading *ἐπειδή* see p. 68.

3) *ἦρ*.

4) See p. 26 sq.

5) *ἦρ* twice.

6) See p. 69.

7) *ἔπει* is Stahl's conjecture for *καί* of the manuscripts.

8) For IV 93 1 see under *ἐπειδή* with the indicative aorist, p. 57.

9) Twice.

10) *ἐπεί τάχιστα*.

verb indicative pluperfect: — III 23 3. 107 4. d) Subordinate verb optative present: — VIII 38 5¹⁾.

ἐπειδή.

1. Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — I 13 5. 24 6. 29 1²⁾. 58 1³⁾. 63 2⁴⁾. 74 2. 102 3. 131 1⁵⁾. 137 4. II 3 1. 12 3⁴⁾. 18 3. 19 1⁶⁾. 23 1. 34 8. 56 1⁷⁾. 66 2. 70 1⁸⁾. 81 5⁷⁾. 83 3³⁾. 90 1. 98 1⁷⁾. 101 1⁹⁾; 5⁵⁾. III 3 1. 10 4. 18 1. 20 1¹⁰⁾. 34 3⁷⁾. 61 2. 70 6⁶⁾. 98 1¹¹⁾. IV 36 1⁷⁾. 67 3. 91¹²⁾. 93 3. 106 2. V 17 2. 22 2¹³⁾. 29 1. 58 1. 63 2; 65 5¹⁴⁾. 72 3. VI 2 6. 32 1¹⁵⁾. 61 1. 63 2; 2⁴⁾. 100 1⁴⁾. VII 4 4. 6 1⁷⁾. 18 1; 3¹⁴⁾. 23 2. 27 3. 32 1⁴⁾. 37 3⁷⁾. 50 4⁷⁾. 51 2⁷⁾. 60 5⁷⁾. 65 3⁷⁾. 69 1; 2. 75 1. 80 1. 82 1. VIII 8 2. 56 3. 67 2. 68 2¹⁶⁾. 73 6. 79 1. 80 1¹⁷⁾. 105 3. b) Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — I 5 1. 6 3. 11 1. 18 1. 26 3. 28 1. 29 3. 30 2. 39 2. 46 3. 49 1. 50 2; 3. 54 2; 2. 58 1¹⁸⁾. 62 5⁶⁾. 63 2¹⁹⁾. 74 3. 79 1. 89 2⁶⁾; 3. 102 4. 125 1. 126 5. 128 3. II 5 7. 12 3¹⁹⁾.

1) See p. 69.

2) ἦν and παρῶν.

3) Also the aorist twice.

4) Also the aorist.

5) Three times.

6) Twice.

7) ἦν.

8) Twice; also the pluperfect three times.

9) παρῶν.

10) Three times (once ἦν).

11) Twice; also the aorist and the pluperfect.

12) Twice (once παρῶν).

13) On V 27 1 see p. 57, footnote 6.

14) Twice; also the aorist.

15) Twice (once ἦν).

16) The passage is corrupt. CGM have only the imperfect ἐκακοῦτο, ABEF have also μετέστη and κατέστη.

17) In Classen's change to ἀνταρῆγάγοντο the point of the imperfect with the negative is missed.

18) Twice; also the imperfect.

19) Also the imperfect.

15 2. 16 1. 17 1. 20 3. 21 2. 55 1. 65 6. 78 1. 80 4.
 82. 83 3¹). 86 4. 102 1. III 8. 13 1. 15 1. 16 4. 26 1.
 27 3. 33 3. 47 3. 62 1; 5²). 68 5. 70 1. 98 1³).
 102 1⁴). 108 1. IV 45 2. 46 1. 48 4. 72 1. 74 3²).
 78 1²). 81 1. 93 1⁵). 103 4²). 113 2. 130 7. V 21 3.
 27 1⁶). 28 1. 44 1. 45 4⁷). 50 4. 63 1. 65 5⁸). [76 1⁹).]
 VI 46 5. 51 3. 53 2. 61 6. 63 2¹⁰). 88 7. 100 1¹⁰). VII
 5 2. 18 3¹¹). 26 3. 32 1¹⁰). 35 1. 43 3. 44 8. 46. 55 2.
 70 2. 74 1¹²). 78 3. 80 6. 84 1. VIII 1 1; 1. 10 1.
 29 1. 31 1. 47 2. 48 3. 52. 63 3. 68 2¹³); 3; 4. 69 1.
 81 1. 86 9. 88. 89 1. 90 1; 1. 91 1. 92 2¹⁴). 94 1⁴).
 100 1. c) Subordinate verb indicative pluperfect: — I 46 1.
 48 1. 132 3. II 10 3¹⁵). 70 1¹⁶). 78 2. III 22 1. 31 2.
 96 3. 98 1¹⁷). 102 1¹⁸). IV 67 1. 73 4. 132 2. 133 1.

1) Twice; also the imperfect.

2) Twice.

3) Also the imperfect twice and the pluperfect.

4) Also the pluperfect.

5) See p. 69.

6) If the manuscript reading is retained, the apodosis begins with *καὶ αὖ . . . πρὸςβέβηται*. But it is not unlikely that *καὶ* before *οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι* is to be deleted (Campe *Philol.* XI (1855) p. 52). This makes the imperfect *ἀρεχώσων* a second predicate in the temporal clause.

7) ἔφη.

8) Also the imperfect twice.

9) The clause is probably to be deleted as a gloss.

10) Also the imperfect.

11) Also the imperfect twice. — For VII 22 1 see under *ἐπειδή* with the pluperfect, p. 58.

12) Stahl writes *καὶ ὥς*, and regards *καὶ ἐπειδή* as a gloss. He says that if *καὶ ὥς* is read, the meaning must be *ἐπειδή καὶ ἐπισχόντες τὴν νόμιμα οὐκ ἐνθὺς ὥρμησαν*, and then one would expect *καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν*. But may not *καὶ ὥς* be referred to *οὐκ ἀπάτην εἶναι*?

13) The passage is corrupt. CGM have only the imperfect *ἐκακοῦτο*, ABEF have also *μετέστη* and *κατέστη*.

14) Three times.

15) Compound form.

16) Three times; also the imperfect twice.

17) Also the imperfect twice and the aorist.

18) Also the aorist.

V 16 1¹⁾. 43 3. 76 2. VI 101 3. VII 22 1²⁾. 47 3. VIII 82 2. 94 1³⁾. d) Subordinate verb optative present: — II 10 2. e) Subordinate verb optative aorist: — I 49 3⁴⁾. VII 44 8. 70 5.

II. Combination of past and present spheres. Subordinate verb indicative present: — I 68 2.

III. Present sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative present: — I 32 5⁶⁾. VII 13 2. b) Subordinate verb indicative perfect: — I 6 5. 32 5⁶⁾. VII 13 2.

IV. Future sphere. Subordinate verb optative⁷⁾ aorist: — VII 80 5.

ἐπίρ.

Future sphere. Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — V 47 6. VIII 58 6; 7.

ἐπειδάν.

I. Present sphere. a) Subordinate verb subjunctive present: — II 34 3⁸⁾. b) Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — II 34 6. V 103 2⁹⁾. VII 66 3.

II. Future sphere. a) Subordinate verb subjunctive present: — VII 67 2⁸⁾. b) Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — II 72 3. V 65 4.

ἕως.

A. 'So long as'. Future sphere. Subordinate verb subjunctive present: — I 58 2⁸⁾. 90 3¹⁰⁾. II 72 3⁸⁾. III 82 2⁸⁾. VIII 81 3.

1) Twice.

2) *παρεσκέυαστο* is cited from D and two inferior manuscripts, *παρεσκεύαστο* from the rest. Stahl prefers the former reading, "nam classem Gylippus non ipse comparavit, sed Syracusanos ut compararent adhortatus est". The pluperfect would be in accordance with the usage already observed, whereby the pluperfect is used of purely antecedent action previously described by an imperfect.

3) Compound form; also the aorist.

4) *προσβάλλοιεν* is to be preferred to *προσβάλλουσιν* of most manuscripts, not on the ground that it expresses the rapid shock (Classen), but because each onset is over before release can be considered.

5) Twice (once *ἐστί* omitted); also the perfect.

6) Also the present twice (once *ἐστί* omitted).

7) On *ἐπειδή* with the indicative to express future action see p. 17 sq.

8) *ᾧ*.

9) Read *ἐπύκτωσιν* with ABF.

10) See p. 43 sq.

B. 'While'. I. Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — V 60 3¹⁾. 75 5. VII 63 4. 71 4. VIII 78²⁾. b) Subordinate verb indicative pluperfect: — VIII 78³⁾.

II. Combination of present and future spheres. a) Subordinate verb indicative present: — I 78 4⁴⁾. III 70 6. V 9 6⁵⁾. VI 17 1⁶⁾. 49 1; 2. VII 47 3⁴⁾. VIII 40 3⁴⁾. b) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — IV 67 4⁶⁾.

C. 'Until'. I. Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative historical present: — VII 81 4⁷⁾. b) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — V 82 3⁸⁾. VII 81 4⁹⁾. c) Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — II 19 2. 81 4. III 93 2. VI 44 2. 62 3. VII 19 5. 26 3. 35 2.

II. Combination of present and future spheres. Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — VI 77 2.

III. Future sphere. a) Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — I 28 5. 29 5. II 7 2. III 97 1. IV 30 4. VII 16 1. VIII 11 2. 29 1. 84 5. b) Subordinate verb optative present: — III 102 7. c) Subordinate verb optative aorist: — III 95 1. V 35 4.

ἥρκα.

Past sphere. Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — VII 73 3.

μέζω.

A. 'So long as'. Past sphere. Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — III 10 4. 98 1¹⁰⁾.

B. 'Until'. I. Past sphere. Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — IV 4 1.

1) ἥρ.

2) ἥρ: also the pluperfect ἐροόμην.

3) ἐροόμην: also the imperfect ἥρ.

4) ἐστί omitted.

5) Twice.

6) ἥρ. On the imperfect tense see p. 22.

7) Also the imperfect ἥρ.

8) See p. 42 sq.

9) ἥρ: also the historical present.

10) Twice (once ἥρ).

II. Future sphere. Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — I 137 2. VIII 58 5.

μέζου οὔ.

A. 'So long as'. Past sphere. Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — II 21 1¹).

B. 'Until'. I. Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — I 30 3. VIII 42 3²). b) Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — I 109 4. II 22 2. 31 3. V 26 1³); 4. VIII 42 3⁴).

II. Combination of past and present spheres. Subordinate verb indicative present: — I 76 2.

III. Future sphere. Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — III 28 2. IV 16 2. 41 1. 46 3. VII 83 2.

Forms of οὔ.

οὔ. Present sphere. a) Subordinate verb subjunctive present: — IV 17 2. b) Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — I 37 4.

ἀφ' οὔ. I. Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — II 102 6. b) Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — I 14 3. II 73 3.

II. Combination of past and present spheres. a) Subordinate verb indicative present: — I 18 1⁶). III 116 2. b) Subordinate verb indicative perfect: — II 8 3⁶).

1) ἦν.

2) Also the aorist.

3) Twice.

4) Also the imperfect.

5) A scholium is quoted: ἀφ' οὔ] γράφεται καὶ ᾧ, ἢ εἰς ἃ ὡς ἔτη, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοιτέστιν ἐν οἷς ἔτεσιν. Van Herwerden (*Stud. Thuc.* p. 6) says: "Non memoratur, quod visum est Popponi, duplex lectio ᾧ et εἰς ᾧ, sed εἰς ᾧ esse lectionis ᾧ interpretamentum apparet ex additis vocabulis ὡς ἔτη. Ceterum de hac varietate, cuius vestigium servarent cod. Italus et Parisinus H. exhibentes ἃ ἀφ' οὔ Λακ., diligenter videndum est, si quidem quod hodie vulgatur ἀφ' οὔ potest esse illius glossema, non ratione inversa." But doubtless the scholium is to be resolved into three notes: — τετρακόσια] γράφεται καὶ α ἢ εἰς α ὡς ἔτη (the error might easily arise by dittography from μάλιστα). καθίστασιν] οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ("Das Subject geht aus dem Zwischensatz (Λακ. γράφεται) auch auf καθίστασιν über." Classen). ἀφ' οὔ] τοιτέστιν ἐν οἷς ἔτεσιν.

6) The subordinate verb is μέμνηται.

$\tilde{\omega}$. Past sphere. Subordinate verb indicative imperfect:
— V 42 1.

$\tilde{\epsilon}\nu\tilde{\omega}$. I. Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — II 86 1. III 39 2¹). [84 2²).] VI 61 2. VIII 87 1. b) Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — III 39 3. VI 92 4. c) Subordinate verb indicative pluperfect: — VII 2 4.

II. Present sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative present: — I 39 3³). II 11 6. VI 92 4. b) Subordinate verb indicative perfect: — I 39 3⁴). c) Subordinate verb subjunctive present: — I 21 2. 37 4. 42 2. IV 17 2⁵). d) Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — VII 29 4.

III. Combination of present and future spheres. Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — V 16 1⁶).

IV. Future sphere. Subordinate verb indicative future: — I 39 3⁷).

$\tilde{\eta}$. Future sphere. Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist:
— VI 23 2.

$\alpha\tilde{\iota}\zeta$. Past sphere. Subordinate verb indicative imperfect:
— III 56 5¹).

$\alpha\tilde{\iota}\zeta$. Past sphere. Subordinate verb indicative imperfect:
— IV 120 1.

$\tilde{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\zeta$. Past sphere. Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — IV 39 2⁸).

$\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$. I. Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — III 17 1⁹). 18 1¹). 94 1. IV 46 1¹⁰). V 55 1¹). VIII 73 1. b) Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — I 138 1.

1) $\tilde{\eta}\nu$.

2) The chapter is probably not Thukydean.

3) Also the perfect.

4) Also the present.

5) $\tilde{\omega}$.

6) Twice (once $\tilde{\eta}\nu$). On the imperfect see p. 22.

7) Twice.

8) $\alpha\tau\tilde{\eta}\nu$.

9) The chapter is suspected as an interpolation.

10) While the fact that a formula is several times repeated does not exclude the possibility of a variation of that formula, and while the paratactic construction is plausible for this sentence, a comparison of the parallel passages, especially III 18 1, 94 1, and VIII 73 1 shows the reading $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$.

II. Future sphere. Subordinate verb indicative present:
— III 39 8.

ἄς. Past sphere. Subordinate verb indicative aorist: —
III 81 4.

ἔς ὅ. Past sphere. Subordinate verb indicative pluperfect:
— V 66 2¹).

Forms of ὅσος; ὁσάκις.

ἐν ὅσῳ. I. Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — III 81 2. VIII 61 1. 87 4²). b) Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — III 52 3¹).

II. Future sphere. a) Subordinate verb subjunctive present: — VIII 87 1³). b) Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — III 28 1¹).

ὅσον. I. Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — II 57 1⁴). VIII 5 3⁵). b) Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — II 65 5. IV 39 1. c) Subordinate verb optative present: — II 49 6. VII 70 5.

II. Combination of past and present spheres. Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — I 137 4.

ὁσάκις. Past sphere. Subordinate verb optative aorist: — VII 18 3.

ὅτε.

I. Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — I 8 2. 9 2. 25 4. 39 3⁵). 73 2. 74 3⁵). 91 5. II 13 9²). 56 3. 78 4. 95 2. 99 6. III 34 1. 55 3. 56 4⁵). 4. 68 1⁸). 96 3. 113 1. IV 34 1. 116 2. V 5 2.

to be extremely probable. καί is hardly left, as Classen objects, "ohne passende Beziehung", for the coupling of the two actions by κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον renders easy the insertion of καί at the introduction of the second. The passage (VIII 10 1) adduced by Stahl for the reading without ὅρ does not mark the correlation in time of two disconnected events.

1) See p. 51.

2) Twice.

3) ἀπὸ.

4) Twice (once ἤν).

5) ἤν.

6) Explanations of the passage as it stands are unsatisfactory, and the simplest remedy seems to be to delete ἄ.

13 2. 16 3. 30 2. VI 31 1. 74 1. VIII 99¹⁾. b) Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — I 13 3. 73 4. II 21 1. 54 4. 98 2. 102 5. III 13 1. 29 2. 54 5. 55 1. IV 85 2. 91. 92 6. V 41 2. 49 2. VI 46 3. VIII 73 2. 76 4. 86 3²⁾. 108 4. c) Subordinate verb indicative pluperfect: — IV 133 3³⁾. VII 15 2⁴⁾. d) Subordinate verb infinitive present: — II 102 5.

II. Present sphere. Subordinate verb indicative present: — VIII 78⁵⁾.

III. Future sphere. Subordinate verb indicative future: — VI 86 5.

ὁπότε.

I. Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb optative present: — II 76 4. 79 6. III 21 4⁶⁾. 97 3⁷⁾. IV 23 2⁶⁾. 26 7⁶⁾. 100 3⁸⁾. VIII 73 5. b) Subordinate verb optative aorist: — I 90 5. 99 3. II 13 7. 15 1. 18 2. 34 7. 43 1. 49 3. 51 4. 65 9. III 68 1⁸⁾. V 16 1. VII 4 6. 44 6. 70 3; 3⁷⁾. 75 3. VIII 53 3⁸⁾.

II. Future sphere. a) Subordinate verb optative present: — III 22 3⁶⁾. IV 77 1⁶⁾. VI 66 1. 97 5. VII 48 1.

b) Subordinate verb optative aorist: — I 91 3. IV 111 1⁶⁾.

ὅταν.

I. Present sphere. a) Subordinate verb subjunctive present: — I 36 1. 141 6⁹⁾. III 56 7¹⁰⁾. VI 3 1. b) Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — I 142 9. VI 86 3.

II. Future sphere. a) Subordinate verb subjunctive present: — I 62 3. 121 1. 142 1. II 11 6. III 39 7¹¹⁾. IV 77 2. 126 6¹¹⁾. V 9 7. 47 7¹¹⁾. VI 79 1. 93 3¹¹⁾. VIII 86 8.

1) Hude brackets the temporal clause.

2) AEM have the imperfect ἐσέβαλλον.

3) See p. 35.

4) ἐροώμην.

5) Twice.

6) εἶην.

7) On the reading ὁπότε see p. 73.

8) γαίην.

9) Twice. The indicative σπεύδει given by AF is out of place.

10) The acceptance of Heilmann's conjecture, ἔχουσι for ἔχουσι, leaves but one subjunctive.

11) ὅ.

90 3. b) Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — I 121 4. 144 2. II 43 1. 64 1. IV 5 1. 60 2. 64 3. V 98. VII 50 3. VIII 11 3. [109 2¹).]

δπόται.

Future sphere. Subordinate verb subjunctive present: — II 84 2. IV 21 2. V 7 5. VIII 67 3.

ποίν.

A. With infinitive. a) Infinitive present: — I 39 1; 2. 68 2. II 67 3. III 24 2. 64 3. IV 2 1²). 14 1. 67 3²). 125 4²). V 10 3. 41 3. 60 6. 84 3. VI 29 1. 61 1. b) Infinitive aorist: — I 20 2. 78 1. 125 2³). 141 1. II 12 2. 13 1. 53 3; 4. 56 1. 82. 86 6. 93 1. III 30 1. 46 6. 69 2. 94 4. IV 4 3. 20 1. 67 4. 69 1. 70 2. 72 1. 78 5. 79 1. 83 6. 85 4. 101 4. 104 5. 125 1. 128 1. 135 1; 1. V 8 4. 9 6. 38 2. 45 4. 65 3. VI 2 5. 4 2. 11 1. 49 2. 76 1. 97 2; 3. VII 28 3. 36 1. 50 4. VIII 12 1. 42 1. 45 1.

B. With finite verb. I. Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative historical present: — I 132 5³). VII 39 2. b) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — I 118 2³). VII 71 5⁴). c) Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — I 51 2. II 65 3. III 29 1. 101 2. 104 6. V 10 9. 61 1. VII 71 5⁶). VIII 105 2.

II. Present sphere. Subordinate verb subjunctive present: — VI 38 2⁶).

III. Future sphere. a) Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — I 91 3. II 6 2. 84 1. 102 5. IV 97 2. VI 10 5. 29 2. 71 2⁷). VIII 9 1; 3. b) Subordinate verb optative aorist: — III 22 8³). IV 117 1.

1) The passage is doubtless not Thukydidean.

2) *εἶναι*.

3) Twice.

4) Also the aorist.

5) Also the imperfect.

6) *ᾶ*.

7) Six times.

πρότερον ἤ.

A. With infinitive aorist: — I 69 5. II 40 2. VI 58 1. VIII 45 5.

B. With finite verb. I. Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — VIII 24 5¹⁾. b) Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — II 65 12.

II. Future sphere. Subordinate verb subjunctive aorist: — VII 63 1.

ἔστέον ἤ.

With infinitive aorist: — VI 4 2²⁾.

ὥς.

Past sphere. a) Subordinate verb indicative historical present: — I 63 1. V 10 5. VII 84 3. b) Subordinate verb indicative imperfect: — I 26 5. 61 3. 63 2³⁾. 64 3. 65 1. 102 1. 103 1. 109 3⁴⁾. 126 10⁴⁾; 11. II 18 1. 21 3. 33 2. 57 1⁴⁾. 59 1⁵⁾. 68 9. 77 1⁴⁾. 84 3⁶⁾. 90 3. 92 3. III 4 1. 7 5. 16 2⁷⁾. 26 4⁵⁾. 27 1⁸⁾. 33 3. 75 4. 77 2⁹⁾. 81 3. 85 3. 88 4. 91 3. 103 1. 108 1³⁾; 3⁴⁾. IV 3 1³⁾. 4 1. 15 2³⁾. 44 3. 57 2. 71 3. 73 4³⁾; 4. 75 1⁴⁾. 79 2. 89 1⁴⁾. 96 5. 104 3. 110 1. 111 2⁵⁾. 117 2¹⁰⁾. 127 2¹¹⁾. V 3 1⁴⁾. 10 4. 22 2. 36 1. 40 1⁸⁾. 50 1; 2. 52 1. 54 2. 55 4. 57 1⁸⁾. 59 2. 61 5. 72 4. 73 3³⁾. 84 2. 114 1. 116 1; [3¹²⁾.] VI 31 1. 44 3. 50 1³⁾; 3. 54 4. 60 2¹³⁾. 61 7⁹⁾. 62 2. 66 3. 74 2¹⁴⁾. 97 5. 98 3. 102 1.

1) Twice; see *p.* 43.

2) Cf. I 51 4. 60 3.

3) Also the aorist.

4) Twice.

5) Also the pluperfect.

6) Six times

7) Twice (once *παροῖν*).

8) Twice; also the pluperfect.

9) *ἤν*.

10) Twice; see *p.* 47 *sq.*

11) Four times; also the aorist.

12) The words *ὥς ταῦτα ἐγίνετο* have been condemned on account of the imperfect tense for the aorist that might have been expected, and on account of their position. Probably they are an interpolation

13) Three times (once *ἤν*).

14) Three times.

103 3. 104 1. VII 17 3¹). 27 2. 30 2. 42 3¹). 43 1²).
 50 3. 73 3¹). VIII 16 2; 3. 17 3. 20 2. 23 5. 25 4.
 31 3. 32 1³). 35 4. 38 4. 40 3. 60 3. 62 3¹). 63 2.
 70 1⁴). 77 79 6. 94 1. 95 4. 99⁵). 102 1¹). 103 1.
 c) Subordinate verb indicative aorist: — I 9 2⁶). 27 1.
 29 4⁷). 47 1. 48 3. 61 1. 63 2⁸). 72 1. 116 1. 134 1.
 II 3 1. 4 1. 5 4. 12 4¹). 13 1. 31 1. 74 2. 79 5. 81 6.
 94 3. III 5 1. 8. 22 4. 28 2. 36 5. 51 4. 60. 68 1.
 69 1. 95 2. 102 5. 106 1. 108 1⁸). 111 2. 112 5; 7.
 113 5¹). IV 3 1⁸). 6 1. 13 3. 15 1; 2⁸). 25 9. 33 1.
 35 2. 42 4¹). 44 4; 4⁹). 47 1¹). 48¹). 68 3. 70 1; 2.
 73 4⁸). 74 3. 89 2. 90 3. 93 2. 94 1. 101 3. 110 2.
 116 1. 122 4. 123 2. 125 1; 2. 127 2¹⁰). 128 3. 129 4.
 130 4. V 6 1. 8 1. 10 3. 20 1. 32 4¹¹). 37 3. 38 4.
 40 1⁸). 46 5. 55 3. 65 1. 72 1. 73 2; 3⁸). 80 3. 83 1.
 112 1. VI 7 2. 50 1⁸). 51 2. 52 1. 57 1; 2. 65 2.
 96 1. 102 2. VII 3 3. 4 3. 23 1. 33 3. 35 2¹). 43 1⁸).
 81 1¹); 2. 83 2. VIII 10 2¹). 16 3. 17 1. 19 3. 23 4.
 27 1. 28 2. 33 4¹²). 35 2. 40 2. 43 1. 51 1. 70 1¹³).
 71 2¹⁴). 74 3. 79 2. 83 2. 84 3. 92 6. 94 3. 96 1.
 100 4¹⁵). 103 2. 104 2. 108 3. d) Subordinate verb in-
 dicative pluperfect: — I 29 4²). II 59 1⁸). III 23 1¹).
 26 4⁸). 27 1¹³). 69 2. IV 90 4. 111 2⁸). V 57 1¹³). 73 1.
 VIII 99¹⁶).

1) Twice. 2) Also the aorist. 3) $\tilde{\eta}r$.

4) Twice; also the aorist.

5) Four times (once $\tilde{\eta}r$): also the pluperfect.

6) On I 19 see *p.* 47.

7) Also the pluperfect.

8) Also the imperfect.

9) There does not seem to be sufficient reason for Stahl's change to $\tilde{\omega}_5$ with the insertion of $\tau\epsilon$.

10) Also the imperfect four times.

11) $\tilde{\epsilon}q\eta r$.

12) In VIII 34, the reading of B presents no difficulty, but the testimony of the other manuscripts points to a reading with $\tilde{\omega}\alpha\pi\epsilon\sigma$.

13) Also the imperfect twice.

14) Four times.

15) B has $\tilde{\omega}_5$, the other manuscripts $\tilde{\omega}\tau\epsilon$.

16) Also the imperfect four times (once $\tilde{\eta}r$).

CHAPTER III.

For convenience, statistics¹⁾ of moods and tenses with the different conjunctions, and some notes on miscellaneous points may be given here.

§ 1. a) <i>ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδή.</i>						Number of occurrences
<i>ἐπεὶ</i>	is followed by the indicative imperfect.					8
„	„	„	„	„	aorist . .	10
<i>ἐπεὶ τὰχιστα</i>	„	„	„	„	„ . .	1
<i>ἐπεὶ</i>	„	„	„	„	pluperfect	2
„ ²⁾	„	„	„	„	optative present .	1
<i>ἐπειδή</i>	„	„	„	„	indicative „ .	2
„	„	„	„	„	imperfect .	63
„	„	„	„	„	aorist . .	106
„	„	„	„	„	perfect. .	2
„	„	„	„	„	pluperfect.	19
„	„	„	„	„	present and perfect	1
„	„	„	„	„	indicative imperfect and aorist	10
„	„	„	„	„	indicative imperfect and pluperfect . . .	1
„	„	„	„	„	indicative imperfect, aorist, and pluperfect	1
„	„	„	„	„	indicative aorist and pluperfect . . .	2
„	„	„	„	„	optative present . .	1
„	„	„	„	„	aorist . . .	4

1) Totals are given in accordance with the classification of Chapter II. Passages bracketed are not counted.

2) See *p.* 69.

ἐπεὶ and ἐπειδὴ, temporal, may sometimes by virtue of the context be translated by 'since'. The real meaning of the conjunctions is, however, unchanged.

The idea of antecedence runs easily into that of cause, and the conjunctions ἐπεὶ and ἐπειδὴ sometimes introduce causal clauses¹). The interrelation of the main and subordinate actions is then not subject to the same limitations as when the connection is temporal. ἐπεὶ has a range not granted to ἐπειδὴ, in that it is used occasionally to append an explanatory sentence almost or quite independent.

Distinction between ἐπεὶ and ἐπειδὴ is not to be too sharply drawn, but in general ἐπειδὴ is the more exact and vivid. Accordingly ἐπειδὴ is used when there is contrast and opposition, or when there is a shift of subject. Manuscript variations in a few passages demand notice.

I 49 7: οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὁρῶντες τοὺς Κερκυραίους πιεζόμενους μᾶλλον ἢδὴ ἀπροσφάστως ἐπεκούρου, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεχόμενοι ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν τινί ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τροπή ἐγήγνετο λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐνέκειντο οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τότε δὴ ἔργου πᾶς εἶχετο ἢδὴ καὶ διεκέχευτο οὐδὲν ἔτι. C has ἐπειδὴ. Since this is the only place where there is important manuscript authority in favor of ἐπεὶ when opposition is expressed by μὲν and δέ (except VIII 38 5), or when the resumptive τότε δὴ appears in the apodosis, ἐπειδὴ may be the correct reading. It is a little strange that in the closest parallel to this passage (I 63 2), C has ἐπεὶ against ἐπειδὴ of the other codices.

I 132 3: τοῦ μέντοι Πανσαρίου ἀδίκημα καὶ τότε ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθειστήκει, πολλῶν μᾶλλον παρόμοιον παραχθῆναι ἐφαίνετο τῇ παρούσῃ διανοίᾳ. C and G read ἐπεὶ γε δὴ. Although ἐπειδὴ under similar circumstances appears alone in V 76 2, the fact that all the manuscripts have ἐπειδὴ γε

¹) It is hard to draw a line between temporal and causal clauses. The following, however, seem purely causal. ἐπεὶ — I 12 1. 41 3. 69 5. II 89 3: 4. 93 3. III 45 3. 82 1. IV 78 3. 80 3. VI 16 4. 18 2. 36 4. 79 2: 3. 89 6. 92 1. VII 24 2. 30 2. 67 3. VIII 66 1. 87 4. ἐπειδὴ — II 35 3. 61 2. III 31 1. 60. IV 73 2. 91. V 27 2. 50 1. 85. 90. VI 13 2. 16 1. 18 1: 3. 20 1. 63 2. 88 1: 2. VII 15 1. 33 6. VIII 63 4.

in VII 55 2 gives some support to γῆ here, whether it is inserted or is to be transposed to follow δῆ.

II 65 5: ὅσον τε γὰρ χρόνον προύσθη τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ, μετρίως ἐξηγῆτο, καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἐκείνου μεγίστη, ἐπεὶ τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέσθη, ὁ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προορροῦς τὴν δύναμιν. C and G give ἐπειδή. Two periods of time, it is true, are in comparison; but since the relation of the two sentences is not adversative but copulative, ἐπειδή is not necessary.

IV 93 1: καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἀναστήσας ἤγε τὸν στρατόν (ἦδη γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὀψὲ ἦν), καὶ ἐπειδὴ προσέμειξεν ἐγγὺς τοῦ στρατεύματος αὐτῶν . . . ἔτασσε. A B F G have καὶ ἐπεὶ δέ, C has ἐπεὶ δέ. Probably καὶ ἐπειδή is to be read.

VIII 38 5: αἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου νῆες αὐτοῖς ἐπίπλους μὲν ποιοῦντο ταῖς ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ ἀντανάγκειν, ἀναχωροῦντες πάλιν ἐς τὴν Σάμον ἡσυχάζον. In B ἐπειδή is found. Classen objects to this on the ground that ἐπειδή is very rarely used with the optative, and Stahl on the ground that it is less appropriate here where there is no progress in the narrative. But in all the other occurrences of the optative in antecedent action (I 49 3. VII 44 8. 70 5) Thukydides uses ἐπειδή; and it is hard to see that there is no progress in the narrative. Further, the opposition of μέν and δέ is present; and the passage occurs in that part of the history where the authority of the Vaticanus is greater than that of the other manuscripts.

b) ἐπὶν, ἐπειδάν.

Number of
occurrences

ἐπὶν	is followed by the subjunctive aorist . . .	3
ἐπειδάν	„ „ „ „ „ present . . .	2
„ „ „ „ „ aorist . . .		5

The three occurrences of ἐπὶν are in treaties (V 47 6. VIII 58 6; 7). Stahl¹⁾ seeks to explain the appearance of ἐπὶν on the ground that it would have been understood more readily than the Attic ἐπειδάν; but as regards the first treaty, he assumes that the copy set up at Olympia was in

1) *Quaestt. Gramm.* p. 48 sqq.



the Attic dialect, and so far as the second is concerned, the selection of a single form from Ionic as a kind of κοινή is very doubtful. It may be that the occurrence of the form only in treaties is accidental, and that for Thukydides ἐπὶ simply holds the same relation to ἐπειδάν that ἐπεὶ has to ἐπειδή. In V 47 6: τοῖς δὲ βοηθοῦσιν ἢ πόλιν ἢ πέμπονσα παρέχεται μέχρ' ἢ τριάζοντα ἡμερῶν σῆμα, ἐπὶ ἔλθωσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὴν παγγείλασαν βοηθεῖν, the temporal clause is not emphatic. It limits μέχρ' ἢ τριάζοντα ἡμερῶν for greater accuracy, but the sentence could hardly be misunderstood without it. Compare VI 2 5: καὶ τὰ κοράισια τῆς γῆς ὄψαντες, ἐπεὶ διέβησαν, ἔτι ἐγγὺς τριαζόσια πρὶν Ἑλλήνας ἐς Σικελίαν ἐλθεῖν, as against III 68 5: καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πλάταιαν ἔτι τρώει καὶ ἐνεργουσι, ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. Previous mention of the temporal limit renders the clauses unemphatic in VIII 58 5-7: τροφὴν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς νῦν παρούσαις Τισσαφέρην παρέχειν κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα μέχρ' ἂν αἱ νῆες αἱ βασιλέως ἔλθωσιν . . . ἐπὶ δὲ αἱ βασιλέως νῆες ἀφίκωνται, αἱ τε Λακεδαιμονίων νῆες, κ.τ.λ. Contrast the use of ἐπειδάν to arrest coextensive action in II 72 3: αἱ τοὶ δὲ μεταχωρήσατε ὅποι βούλεσθε, ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾗ· ἐπειδάν δὲ παρέλθῃ, ἀποδοσόμεν ἐμῶν ἢ ἂν παραλάβωμεν.

§ 2. ἕως.

Number of occurrences

ἕως, 'so long as', is followed by the subjunctive present	. 5
" 'while', " " " " " " indicative " "	. 8
" " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	. 5
" " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	. 1
" 'until', " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	. 1
" " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	. 8
" " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	. 1
" " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	. 10
" " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	. 1
" " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	. 2

ἕως, 'so long as', has the correlative μέχρ' τοσοῦτου in

I 90 3, if the temporal clause in that passage is regarded as one of coincident extension. With $\xi\omega\varsigma$, 'until', there is sometimes final force; and $\sigma\phi\iota\sigma\iota$ occurs in a clause with $\xi\omega\varsigma$ followed by the optative in V 35 4.

Thukydides does not use $\xi\omega\varsigma$ with adverbial expressions or with substantives. $\xi\varsigma \delta\eta\acute{\epsilon}$ is to be read in III 108 3.

§ 3. $\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha$.

In the single occurrence of $\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha$ in Thukydides (VII 73 3), it is followed by the indicative imperfect.

§ 4. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\iota^1$), $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\iota \omicron\tilde{\nu}$.

Number of
occurrences

$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\iota$,	'so long as',	is followed by the indicative imperfect	2
"	'until',	" " " " " " aorist.	1
"	"	" " " " " " subjunctive	2
$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\iota \omicron\tilde{\nu}$,	'so long as',	" " " " " " indicative imperfect	1
"	'until',	" " " " " " present	1
"	"	" " " " " " imperfect	1
"	"	" " " " " " aorist.	5
"	"	" " " " " " imperfect	
		and aorist	1
"	"	" " " " " " subjunctive aorist	5

In I 109 4 the duration of the action limited is stated, $\epsilon\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\kappa\alpha\iota \tilde{\epsilon}\xi \mu\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$.

$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\iota$ (never $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\iota \omicron\tilde{\nu}$) as a preposition is used freely (seventy times) by Thukydides.

§ 5. Forms of $\delta\acute{\varsigma}$ and $\delta\omicron\sigma\omicron\varsigma$; $\delta\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\iota\varsigma$.

Number of
occurrences

$\omicron\tilde{\nu}$	is followed by the subjunctive	present.	1
"	" " " " " " "	aorist	1
$\acute{\alpha}\varphi^2 \omicron\tilde{\nu}$	" " " " " " indicative	present.	2
"	" " " " " " "	imperfect	1
"	" " " " " " "	aorist	2
"	" " " " " " "	perfect.	1
$\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\varphi}$	" " " " " " "	imperfect	1

1) Thukydides does not use the form $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\iota\varsigma$. See Stahl *Quaestt. Gramm.* p. 50.

							Number of occurrences
$\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$	$\tilde{\varphi}$	is followed by the indicative	present.	.	.		2
"	"	"	imperfect	.	.		5
"	"	"	future	.	.		1
"	"	"	orist	.	.		2
"	"	"	pluperfect	.	.		1
"	"	"	present and perfect	.	.		1
"	"	"	subjunctive present.	.	.		4
"	"	"	orist	.	.		1
$\tilde{\eta}$	"	"	"	.	.		1
$\tilde{o}\tilde{\varsigma}$	"	"	indicative imperfect	.	.		1
$\tilde{a}\tilde{\varsigma}$	"	"	"	.	.		1
$\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$	$\tilde{a}\tilde{\varsigma}$	"	"	.	.		1
$\tilde{o}\nu$	"	"	present.	.	.		1
"	"	"	imperfect	.	.		6
"	"	"	orist	.	.		1
$\tilde{a}\tilde{\varsigma}$	"	"	"	.	.		1
$\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\varsigma}$	\tilde{o}	"	pluperfect	.	.		1
$\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$	$\tilde{o}\sigma\varphi$	"	imperfect	.	.		3
"	"	"	orist	.	.		1
"	"	"	subjunctive present.	.	.		1
"	"	"	orist	.	.		1
$\tilde{o}\sigma\varphi$	"	"	indicative imperfect	.	.		3
"	"	"	orist	.	.		2
"	"	"	optative present.	.	.		2
$\delta\acute{o}\alpha\chi\iota\varsigma$	"	"	orist	.	.		1

Only a few forms of the relatives are used absolutely as temporal conjunctions: — $\tilde{o}\tilde{\nu}$, $\tilde{a}\tilde{\varphi}$ $\tilde{o}\tilde{\nu}$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tilde{\varphi}$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\varsigma}$ \tilde{o} ¹⁾, $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tilde{o}\sigma\varphi$. It has seemed best, however, to notice instances in which there is as antecedent a word denoting time ($\chi\rho\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$), with value but slightly different from that of the correlative $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ sometimes used with $\tilde{o}\tau\epsilon$; and also instances in which the forms used absolutely are not exclusively temporal. $\tilde{o}\tilde{\nu}$ occurs in clauses parallel with others introduced by $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tilde{\varphi}$.

1) See p. 51.

§ 6. a) ὅτε, ὁπότε.

Number of
occurrences

ὅτε	is followed by the indicative present	1
"	" " " " " " imperfect	28
"	" " " " " " future	1
"	" " " " " " aorist	20
"	" " " " " " pluperfect	2
"	" " " " " " infinitive present	1
ὁπότε	" " " " " optative "	13
"	" " " " " aorist	20

ὅτε is definite, ὁπότε indefinite. The latter is used only with the optative, the former only with the indicative; for doubtless the two passages where ὅτε is found with the optative are to be corrected. In III 97 3: καὶ ὅτε μὲν ἐπιοῖσι τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον, ἐπεχώρουν, ἀραχωροῦσι δὲ ἐπέζευτο, there is no manuscript authority for ὁπότε; but this is the only passage in Thukydides in which ὅτε with the optative has full support, and the adoption of ὅτε here is favored by the parallel in II 79 6: καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἐπιοίεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνεδίδοσαν, ἀραχωροῦσι δὲ ἐρέζευτο¹⁾. In VII 70 3: οἳ τε ἐπιβάται ἐθελόπεπον, ὅτε προσπέσοι ναῦς νηί, μὴ λείπεσθαι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστροφώματος τῆς ἄλλης τέχνης, A C E F G have ὅτε, B M ὁπότε, which has found acceptance with recent editors.

ὅτε is the only conjunction with which the inverse construction appears.

ἔστιν ὅτε occurs eight times.

Other particles are rarely joined with these conjunctions. ὅτε περ is found in I 8 2 and III 54 5: ὅτε δὴ in II 102 5. In VIII 53 3 A B C E F read ὁπότε δὴ, G M ὁπότε δέ. Hude conjectures ὁπότε δὲ δὴ, but this seems doubtful. Compare the parallel passage, III 68 1.

Correlative adverbial expressions in considerable variety appear. With ὅτε: — τότε (I 39 3. III 56 4 *et al.*), ποτε (V 41 2), πάλαι (III 13 1), μὴ... πο (V 49 2), νῦν (VIII 78), ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ (III 56 4). With ὁπότε: — αἰεί (V 16 1).

ὅτε μὲν... ὅτε δέ is found once (VII 27 4).

1) Cf. Curschmann *op. cit.* p. 10 sq.

ὅποτε is once causal (II 60 4), and three times interrogative (I 2 2. VIII 95 4. 96 2).

b) ὅταν, ὁπόταν.						Number of occurrences
ὅταν	is followed by the subjunctive present.	.	.	.		17
"	"	"	"	"	aurist	12
ὁπόταν	"	"	"	"	present.	4

Once (III 56 7) ὅταν is used to introduce a definition.

ὁπόταν is used of the indefiniteness contingent upon will and choice. There would be complete uniformity in this if ὁπόταν were read in VIII 90 3.

§ 7. πρὶν.						Number of occurrences
πρὶν	is followed by the infinitive	present.	.	.	.	16
"	"	aurist	.	.	.	50
"	"	indicative	historical present	.	.	2
"	"	"	imperfect	.	.	1
"	"	"	aurist	.	.	8
"	"	"	imperfect and	.	.	
		aurist	.	.	.	1
"	"	subjunctive	present.	.	.	1
"	"	"	aurist	.	.	10
"	"	optative	"	.	.	2

Final force is felt in some passages. σφῶν is found in a πρὶν clause with the optative, III 22 8.

The indicative follows πρὶν only twice (VII 39 2. 71 5) in sentences not actually or virtually negative. In these two passages the narrative is intense, and perhaps the writer chooses the conjunction that does not admit of the construction of contemporaneity, in order to put the reader at once upon the right path and husband his attention. In the second passage, indeed, ἕως of contemporaneous action has been used in the preceding sentence. The subjunctive and the optative with πρὶν occur only after main clauses that are negative.

διῆ accompanies πρὶν with the indicative four times (I 118 2. III 29 1. 104 6. VII 39 2), γέ διῆ twice (I 132 5. VII 71 5). The manuscripts have πρὶν ἢ in V 61 1: πρὸς τὸν διῆμον οὐ

	Number of occurrences
ὥς is followed by the indicative aorist	118
“ “ “ “ “ “ “ pluperfect	4
“ “ “ “ “ “ “ imperfect and aorist	11
“ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ plu- perfect	6
“ “ “ “ “ “ “ aorist and pluperfect	1

The mood used by Thukydides with ὥς temporal is the indicative. Wisén¹⁾ cites also the optative clause of IV 56 1: τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις τότε τὴν παραιτιάσειον δηοῦσι τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἡσύχασαν, ὥς καθ' ἐκάστην φρουρὰν γίγναιτο τις ἀπόβασις, but the temporal force is accidental. So καιρός seems to give a temporal idea to ὥς in VIII 1 3: οἵτινες περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὥς ἂν καιρὸς ἢ προβουλεύσουσι²⁾).

1) *Op. cit.* p. 31.

2) On ὥς temporal with the moods in Attic see Gildersleeve *A. J. P.* VII (1886) pp. 167, 543.

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LIFE.

I was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, January 3, 1870. After preparatory training in the public schools of Cambridge, I entered the College of Liberal Arts, Boston University, in the fall of 1887, and having completed a four years' course, was promoted, in June, 1891, to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Later, I went as Fellow in Latin for the year 1893-94 to Bryn Mawr College, and in June, 1894, was promoted to the degree of Master of Arts at Boston University. I pursued my studies in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit at Bryn Mawr, with Professors Herbert Weir Smyth, Gonzalez Lodge, and Edward Washburn Hopkins, until the summer of 1896. Then as Mary E. Garrett European Fellow for the year 1896-97, I went to Germany. During the winter semester, I attended the University of Munich, and heard lectures by Professors von Christ, von Wölfflin, and Furtwängler; and during the summer semester, at the University of Berlin, I attended the lectures of Professors Diels, Kirchhoff, and von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my obligation to each of these men, and to express my hearty thanks. To Professor Smyth and Professor Lodge, who directed my graduate work, I owe a peculiar debt; their unfailing kindness and assistance merit my deep gratitude.

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